CHRISTENDOM

HARLAN PAUL DOUGLASS, *Editor*

OLUME IX SUMMER, 1944 NUMBER 3

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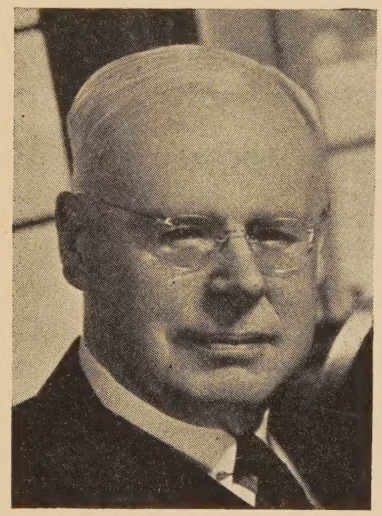
PERSONALIA

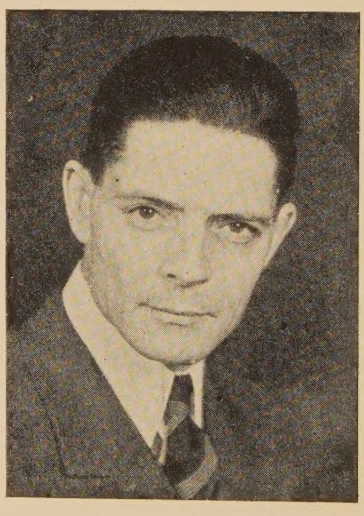
NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

WILLIAM CLAYTON BOWER was born in Indiana in 1878, and educated at Tri-State College, Butler College, and Columbia University. After pastorates in Indiana, New York, and California, he became professor of religious education in Transylvania College and the College of the Bible, Lexington, Kentucky, and later dean of both institutions. In 1926 he became professor of religious education in the Divinity School of the University of Chicago and later chairman of the field of practical Christianity. Since his retirement, he has resided in Lexington, Kentucky. Dr. Bower is author of thirteen books (the latest of which is reviewed in this issue, p. 394), eighty-seven articles, and numerous book reviews, and has been active in interdenominational work.



WILLIAM CLAYTON BOWER

GEORGE M. GIBSON, minister of the United Church of Hyde Park, Chicago, was born in a Methodist parsonage in Missouri, and received his formal education at Southwestern University, Southern Methodist University and Columbia. He served Methodist churches in Fort Worth and Dallas, and Congregational churches in Cleveland and St. Louis. His present pastorate is in a church which maintains relationships with both Congregational and Presbyterian denominations. Mr. Gibson received the degree of Doctor of Divinity from Eden Theological Seminary of the Evangelical and Reformed Church. He has been a frequent contributor to the religious press, and was first introduced to CHRISTENDOM readers through his articles, "What Price Naturalism?" in the Spring number of 1938, and "Are Catholicism and Protestantism Irreconcilable?" in the Spring number of 1940.



GEORGE M. GIBSON

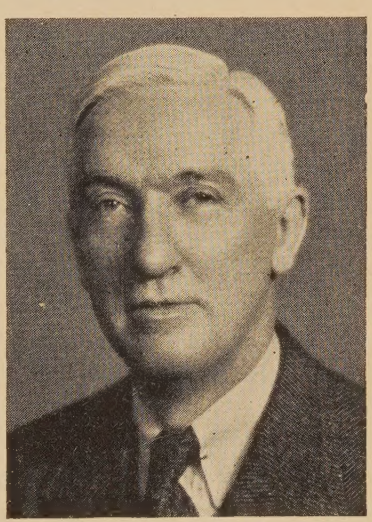
PAUL TILLICH was born in Prussia in 886. He was educated at the Universities Berlin, Tübingen and Halle. He was a

PAUL TILLICH

haplain in the German army during the rst World War and had been a professor f theology in the Universities of Mar- urg, Dresden and Leipsic, and professor f philosophy in the University of Frank- ort before 1933 when he came to this ountry in order to escape the Hitler egime. Since that time he has been a rofessor of theology in Union Theologi- al Seminary in New York City. Since oming to America, Professor Tillich has ublished *The Religious Situation*, *The Inter- retation of History* and numerous maga- ine articles. He has recently become the hairman of an important committee of ersons of German birth now resident in he United States, who are seeking to romote the reconstitution of post-war Germany along democratic lines.

CLIFFORD THOMAS SYMONS was born in South Australia in 1905, was educated at Prince Alfred College (Methodist Boys' College), Adelaide, and ordained to Methodist ministry in South Australia, 1932. He was a teacher at Prince Alfred College, 1924-1926, Wesley Theological College, Adelaide, 1927-1929, and received the B.D. degree from Melbourne College of Divinity, 1933, the M.A. degree from Adelaide University, 1936. Following several pastorates in South Australia, he was appointed Senior Youth Director to the Methodist Church of New Zealand in 1939, "on loan" for six years from the South Australia Conference. Mr. Symons is chairman of the Youth Committee of the Campaign for Christian Order being conducted by the New Zealand Council of Churches, and of the Youth Committee of the New Zealand Council of Churches.

JOHN CLARK ARCHER, Hoober professor of comparative religion in Yale University, has been a member of the Yale faculty since 1915, giving courses in the College and in the Divinity School



JOHN CLARK ARCHER

in Oriental history and religions, with special reference to comparative religion. He is an alumnus of Hiram College and

of Yale and Harvard. He has served at various times in the East: in the Hindi area in India under Disciples of Christ

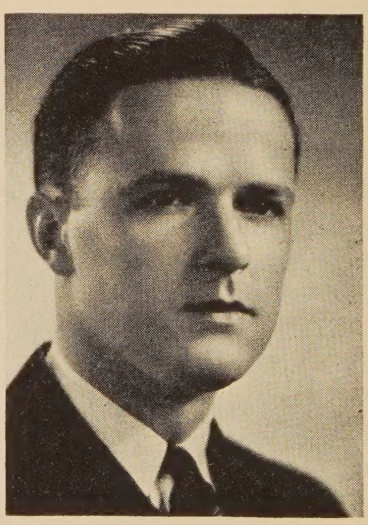
HUGH THOMSON KERR, JR.

auspices, in Iraq during World War I in charge of education for the British and Indian troops under the International "Y", and most recently in the Punjab as lecturer at the Khalsa College in Amritsar and as special student of the Sikh religion.

Dr. Archer is the author of *Faiths Men Live By*, *Youth in a Believing World*, *Mystical Elements in Mohammed*, and other volumes; of numerous sketches in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, and of many articles on Islamic, Indian and kindred subjects. His church membership has long been with the Disciples of Christ.

HUGH THOMSON KERR, JR., has been associate professor of systematic theology and has been teaching courses on American theology at Princeton Seminary since 1940. He was educated at Princeton University; Western Theological Seminary, Pittsburgh; University of Pittsburgh (M.A. in philosophy); University of Edinburgh, University of Tübingen (Ph.D.), and taught systematic theology in Louisville Presbyterian Seminary before coming to Princeton. Dr. Kerr is editor of *A Compend of Calvin's Institutes*, 1939; *A Compend of Luther's Theology*, 1943, and associate editor of *Theology Today*.

O. H. PANNKOKE is director of public relations for Wittenberg College, Springfield, Ohio. He was educated at Concordia College, Milwaukee, Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, Union Seminary, New York, Columbia University, New York, and the University of Chicago; and has been a pioneer within his denomination in the field of finance, stewardship and promotion. In 1918 he organized the first national religious news service, now the department of public relations of the National Lutheran Council. Dr. Pannkoke has directed more than sixty campaigns in the Church, especially in the field of



PAUL RAMSEY

higher education. He is the author of many studies and pamphlets. His most recent pamphlet, "A Living Lutheran

Faith," has just been sent to every Lutheran pastor in the United States.

PAUL RAMSEY, newly elected assistant professor of religious thought in Princeton University, received the B.D. degree from Yale Divinity School in 1940, and his doctorate in Christian ethics from the department of religion, Yale University, in 1943. During his last year in resident graduate study he was assistant in instruction in social philosophy in Yale College. He is a Kent Fellow of the National Council on Religion in Higher Education. For the past two years he has been assistant professor of Christian ethics, Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Illinois. His present article was first presented to the Chicago Ecumenical Study Group.

The five PAPERS BY MEMBERS OF THE AMERICAN THEOLOGICAL COMMITTEE on "Conceptions of the Church" held by various denominations are published at the request of the Committee. For the Committee's formal report with a statement of circumstances governing the selection of authors, the reader should refer to our last issue (Volume IX, Number 2, p. 262 ff.): also for the text of the Questionnaire on the Church which was designed to guide writers in representing the views of their respective Churches.

The contributors to the present installment of denominational statements are: GEORGE W. RICHARDS, president emeritus of the Theological Seminary at Lancaster, Pennsylvania; ERIC W. WAHLSTROM, professor of theology, Augustana Theological Seminary, Rock Island, Illinois; WALTER M. HORTON, Graduate School of Theology, Oberlin, Ohio; and WINFRED E. GARRISON, Disciples Divinity House of the University of Chicago.

The paper on "The Conception of the Church as held by the Presbyterian and United Churches of Canada", was written by Principal RICHARD DAVIDSON, Emanual College, Toronto (United Church), and concurred in by REV. WILLIAM BARCLAY, D.D., of the Central Presbyterian Church, Hamilton, Canada.

Reviewers of CONTEMPORARY BOOKS in this issue are: ROLAND H. BAINTON, professor of ecclesiastical history, Yale Divinity School; JOHN C. BENNETT, professor Christian theology and ethics, Union Theological Seminary; JAMES P. BERKELEY, professor of religious education, Andover Newton Theological Seminary; JOHN WOLLMAN BRUSH, associate professor of church history, Andover Newton Theological Seminary; JAMES MCBRIDE DABBS, formerly professor of English, Coker College, South Carolina; VAUGHAN DABNEY, dean, Andover Newton Theological Seminary; RICHARD EMRICH, assistant professor of Christian Social Ethics, Episcopal Theological Seminary, Cambridge; BUELL GALLAGHER, professor of Christian ethics, Pacific School of Religion; EDUARD C. LINDEMAN, professor of social philosophy, New York School of Social Work; FRANCIS J. MCCONNELL, bishop of The Methodist Church for the New York area; ALBERT W. PALMER, president of Chicago Theological Seminary; WILHELM PAUCK, professor of historical theology, Chicago Theological Seminary; PAUL SCHUBERT, associate professor of New Testament, Hartford Theological Seminary; W. L. SPERRY, dean of Harvard Divinity School; DOUGLAS V. STEERE, professor of philosophy, Haverford College; DANIEL D. WILLIAMS, assistant professor of systematic theology, Chicago Theological Seminary; and ALEXANDER C. ZABRISKIE, dean, Virginia Theological Seminary.

HERBERT LOCKWOOD WILLETT

HERBERT LOCKWOOD WILLETT

AGAIN, with sadness, CHRISTENDOM has to record the passing of one who, according to the calendar, rated as an ecumenical veteran. HERBERT LOCKWOOD WILLETT died on March 28 in Winter Park, Florida. He had never seemed old. A mind undimmed, persistently enduring courage, and an ever-growing faith carried directly over into a larger life.

Dr. Willett was born in Michigan. He was educated in Bethany College; pursued post-graduate studies in Yale, University of Chicago and the University of Berlin; was dean and head of the Disciples Divinity House, Chicago, for nearly thirty years, during most of which time he was professor of Oriental languages and literature in Chicago University. He was the author of many books, contributed frequently to periodicals, and had served as an associate editor of the *Christian Century*.

Dr. Willett's career was a life-long dedication to the cause of Christian unity. It was the theme of some of his earliest writings. For several years he was Western representative of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ. At the time of his death he was president of the Association for the Promotion of Christian Unity of the Disciples of Christ. He participated in the Oxford and Edinburgh World Conferences of 1937 and exercised ecumenical ambassadorship through his many trips abroad. In the United States he was one of the most inveterate campaigners for Christian unity over a long period of years. En route to his winter home in Florida he paused to lecture on his favorite theme and wrote chattily about the hopeful experiences of his trip.

A profound scholar, Dr. Willett had rare gifts of popular exposition. His discourse was always precise, his language finely chosen. His addresses showed little apparent effort but bore inward marks of long discipline. He compressed great learning in little space and carried a vital message into his most objective expositions of truth.

It was fitting that his death should come almost in the very act of interpreting the Bible. He had finished the next to the last of a series of lectures in Winter Park, became ill and had passed away before the next morning. The period which was to have been his last lecture was devoted to a memorial service in Winter Park, followed by later services in Kenilworth, Illinois — the scene of a fifteen year pastorate after his ostensible retirement — and in the Disciples of Christ Church adjacent to the University of Chicago.

At the Chicago memorial service Dr. Charles Clayton Morrison recalled and applied to Dr. Willett the saying of Henry Drummond's biographer, that writing of such a life was like writing the "history of a fragrance." The authentic fragrance of Dr.

Willett's last series of lectures was captured and conveyed in a memorial tribute by Dr. Ambrose W. Vernon published in the local Winter Park paper:

It is not often that the most popular hotel in the center of a city gives its lobby over enthusiastically to a weekly seminar on the Bible; it is not often that a church mid-week meeting is compelled to move from a chapel to a large sanctuary to accommodate crowds who gather week after week to listen to an exposition of a Biblical book; it is not often that a goodly and satisfactory number in the crowd read each week an entire book of the Bible and recite an assigned masterpiece of its literature. Only rarely are Biblical lectures delivered in a wide setting, with thorough understanding of modern scholarship, prefaced and punctuated by miraculous feats of memory. Only rarely, too, do their hearers go away, bearing detailed conclusions of higher criticism and a good sprinkling of reasons for them, yet at the same time feeling that they have been sitting primarily at a spiritual feast. Yet under the unassuming mastery of Dr. Willett, these things became a commonplace to us.

Being such a man as he was, Dr. Willett could not fail of commanding great and devoted friendships. Courtesy informed him. He was endlessly cheerful. His mind was traordinarily well balanced and deeply wise. He was the incarnation of the irenic spirit — a spirit utterly divorced from sentimentality, based on the profoundest of foundations in reason, conviction, and the love of the Church of Christ. God keep unbroken the succession of such souls!

NOTE AND COMMENT

RECTIFYING "IMPERFECT MINISTRIES"

WHILE the final acceptance of the South India Scheme of Union is still delayed by the failure of the South India United Church to act, the Anglican Church in India has attempted to clarify the issue of the ministry and to smooth the way of union by the following declaration made in February 1944.

We and those with whom we desire to unite are all one as members of the body of Christ and through faith in the redemption wrought by God through His only begotten Son Jesus Christ; but so long as we remain out of communion with one another we are all defective in spiritual power. This is true in a special way of the ordained ministry; the ministries of all separated communions are by the fact of separation imperfect and limited in authority. As a result of this defect, the witness of us all to Christ is seriously compromised and the work of setting forward God's purpose for the redemption of all mankind is grievously hindered. . . .

We believe that when separated communions come together again, their ministries should be united by a solemn act of humility and rededication, in which through the mutual laying on of hands with prayer they seek from God the enrichment of all those ministries.

If this method of achieving a united ministry commends itself to the mind and conscience of the Churches those of us who are ordained ministers, bishops, and presbyters, desire to present ourselves to those duly authorized in these communions

which are seeking to restore the unity of the body of Christ, that we may receive through the laying on of hands and prayer the spiritual endowment which in separation from them we lack. We would earnestly commend this suggestion to our own communion and also to those in other communions who sincerely desire the union of the faithful, asking them to consider whether this is the will of God for us, and whether we may not hope by this means to be brought very much nearer to that perfect reconciliation and union which we all earnestly desire.

YOUTH IN THE BRITISH COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

THE Youth Department of the British Council of Churches is more completely integrated with the major stream of the Council's life and also given more importance than is any similar American youth movement. *The Church in the World*, the bulletin of the British Council of Churches, reports extensive activities including important conferences, both national and local, and an impressive list of special youth pamphlets, to which the ecumenical movement in the United States has no parallel. Still more surprising from the American standpoint is that the youth department receives subsidies from public boards of education, both nationally and, sometimes, from local authorities. In Nottingham, for example, the following activities are reported within the last two years:

(i) Co-operation with the Local Education Authority in organizing two Youth Leaders' Training Courses; (ii) organizing seven Conferences of Clergy, Ministers and Club Leaders on the following subjects: Christianity and Clubs; The Presentation of Religion in the Open Club; Fundamentals of the Christian Faith; the Relevance of the Christian Faith; the Presentation of the Christian Faith; Ways and Means of creating a Christian Basis in Clubs; Discussion Work; (iii) formation of a Panel of Speakers and a syllabus of religious instruction; (iv) at the request of the Director of Education a report on Sunday night activities for young people was prepared, and with the authority of the Nottingham Youth Committee was put before area committees.

This illustrates the serious concern of British educational authorities to integrate religion and public education under flexible forms of action.

A STATEMENT ON RELIGIOUS LIBERTY

Adopted by The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, March 21, 1944, and The Foreign Missions Conference of North America, April 12, 1944.

WE RECOGNIZE the dignity of the human person as the image of God. We therefore urge that the civic rights which derive from that dignity be set forth in the agreements into which our country may enter looking toward the promotion of world order, and be vindicated in treaty arrangements and in the functions and responsibilities assigned to international organizations. States should assure their citizens freedom from compulsion and discrimination in matters of religion. This and the other rights which inhere in man's dignity must be adequately guarded; for when they are impaired, all liberty is jeopardized. More specifically, we urge that:

The right of individuals everywhere to religious liberty shall be recognized and, subject only to the maintenance of public order and security, shall be guaranteed against legal provisions and administrative acts which would impose political, economic, or social disabilities on grounds of religion.

Religious liberty shall be interpreted to include freedom to worship according to conscience and to bring up children in the faith of their parents; freedom for the individual to change his religion; freedom to preach, educate, publish, and carry on missionary activities; and freedom to organize with others, and to acquire and hold property, for these purposes.

To safeguard public order and to promote the well-being of the community, both the state, in providing for religious liberty, and the people, in exercising the rights thus recognized, must fulfill reciprocal obligations: The state must guard all groups, both minority and majority, against legal disabilities on account of religious belief; the people must exercise their rights with a sense of responsibility and with charitable consideration for the rights of others.

THEOLOGY TODAY

CHRISTENDOM welcomes a new colleague in the field of religious quarterlies. *Theology Today* is a Princeton venture under the editorship of President John A. Mackay and is published by the Westminster Press, with the announced aim of "contributing to the restoration of theology in the world today as the supreme science." The well-known devotion of President Mackay to the ecumenical cause assures that the new quarterly will furnish it strong reinforcement.

THE METHODIST CHURCH AND THE COLORED METHODIST CHURCH

AS A result of conversations between representatives of the Methodist Church and the Colored Methodist Church, the Commission on Interdenominational Relations of the former body recommended at the last session of the General Conference that no further immediate action be taken with respect to the union of the two bodies.

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PRAYER FOR AN HOUR OF CRISIS

ALMIGHTY and most merciful God, Father of all mankind, lover of every life, hear, we beseech Thee, the cry of Thy children in this dark hour of conflict and danger.

Thou hast been the refuge and strength, in all generations, of those who put their trust in Thee. May it please Thee this day to draw to Thyself the hearts of those who struggle and endure to the uttermost. Have mercy on them and suffer not their faith in Thee to fail. Guide and protect them by Thy light and strength that they may be kept from evil.

May Thy comfort be sufficient for all who suffer pain or who wait in the agony of uncertainty.

O righteous and omnipotent God, who, in their tragedies and conflict, judgest the hearts of men and the purposes of nations, enter into this struggle with Thy transforming power, that out of its anguish there may come a victory of righteousness. May there arise a new order which shall endure because in it Thy will shall be done in earth as it is in Heaven. Forgive us and cleanse us, as well as those who strive against us, that we may be fit instruments of Thy purposes.

Unto Thy most gracious keeping we commend our loved ones and ourselves, ascribing unto Thee all praise and glory, through Jesus Christ, Our Lord. Amen.

(*Issued by the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America*)

PROTESTANTISM'S INNER CONFLICT

By WILLIAM CLAYTON BOWER

PROTESTANTISM appears to be approaching a stage in its development when it is faced with the necessity of rethinking its essential character and the direction which it will take in the future. This necessity arises in part from the nature of historic movements which tend to pass through a cycle involving their origin, fulfilment, and institutionalization. More particularly, it arises out of the fundamental changes in the modern world and the new demands which these changes make upon Christianity if it is to exert a vital influence upon contemporary culture. Many of the most sensitive observers of our time are convinced that civilization is passing through one of the major transitional periods of history, comparable only with the Renaissance and the first century of the Christian era. Protestantism is deeply involved in this epochal transition in which an old order of thought and life is passing and a new order is emerging. This situation creates for Protestantism a dilemma involving its orientation toward the modern world and either a choice between or a synthesis of the conflicting streams of influence that stem from its dual origin.

I

Perhaps the best approach to an understanding of the Protestant dilemma is to think of Christianity in terms of a historical process with many phases in which continuity is united with change. It is impossible to think or speak of Christianity except in the most general or abstract terms. If one is to think of Christianity realistically and concretely, one must think of the Christianity of specific periods of its historical development. During each of the successive periods Christianity has undergone changes and taken on essentially new characteristics. Such an approach leaves us with a concept of Christianity as a developing and expanding movement of high potential, the possibilities of which have never been exhausted by any of its historical phases or all of them together.

The changing character of the Christian movement is obvious from even the most cursory glance at its more than nineteen centuries of

development. It is equally obvious that these changes have taken place as a result of the interaction of the Christian movement with its environing culture and of the operation of intellectual and social forces within the movement itself.

For example, the earliest form of Christianity was developed on Palestinian soil in the midst of a Jewish environment. During this primitive period Christianity appears as a sect of Judaism. Its constituency was entirely Jewish. Its faith and manner of life were Jewish; the chief, if not the only, distinguishing mark being that the members of the new community accepted Jesus as the expected Messiah. It was not until the movement had spread to the Gentile city of Antioch and included Gentiles as well as Jews in its fellowship that it was recognized as a distinctly Christian movement.

Undoubtedly the most crucial event in the development of the Christian movement was the shift of its center from Jewish to Gentile soil. Had its center remained in Palestine, it is probable that it would have remained a provincial Jewish sect. The result of this transition was not only that Christianity became a universal religion, but its outlook and character were changed. Here in the pagan Graeco-Roman world Christianity was not only to come into contact with the mystery religions and Greek and Oriental philosophy, but into competition with them. In this pagan world the Christian community was confronted by wide-spread religious needs which found expression, among other things, in a deep sense of sin and a longing for immortality. In the mystery religions it encountered belief in a dying and risen God, salvation through the bath of blood, identification of the initiated with the deity through the eating of the flesh of the sacrificial victim and the communal meal, initiatory rites through a bath in the sea, and a corporate fellowship of the initiated. It is of the utmost importance to understand that the earliest formulation of Christian faith and practice took place on pagan soil in the interaction of the Christian community with the Graeco-Roman world. It was on this Gentile soil that the earliest writings of the New Testament arose. The letters of Paul, the missionary, were addressed to the rising churches in that world and were concerned with the problems which the converts encountered in adjusting themselves to the pagan culture of that world. The Gospels were preaching materials, and can only be understood in the light of the audiences in the Gentile world to which they were addressed and

whose needs influenced the selection of the content of the Gospels.

In a similar way one must think of the Christianity of the Patristic period during which, in response to the need to define its authentic faith in relation to the surrounding culture and to the rise of divergent sects within the movement itself, the basic content of the Christian faith was formulated and systematized, and an authentic official canon of Scripture was adopted by conciliar action. It was in these concrete historical conditions that the structural foundations of orthodoxy were laid.

So also one must think of the Christianity of the Middle Ages. During these centuries the interaction of the Christian community with Greek philosophy gave rise to the massive overarching system of metaphysical theology. Its interaction with the organizing genius of the Roman state resulted in the elaboration of an ecclesiastical structure that assumed the proportions of the Roman Empire. As a result of the confluence of these factors Christianity of the medieval period took on the characteristics of authority and unity which it did not previously possess and which it has not had since. The result was Catholic Christianity.

In like manner, under the impact of the intellectual and social forces operative in the Renaissance and in reaction from Roman Catholicism, Protestantism had its rise in the sixteenth century. The result is a form of Christianity that, while it maintains its continuity with antecedent forms, is in important respects essentially different from them. In this respect, Protestantism is like all other forms of Christianity that have preceded it in that its distinctive orientation, attitudes, and ways of thought and life have arisen out of the interaction of the Christian movement with the intellectual and social forces that have shaped the modern world. Is Protestantism, like its antecedent forms of Christianity, dated? If so, what lies beyond Protestantism? Or does Protestantism have within itself possibilities that have not been exhausted by the four centuries of its career? If it does have these possibilities, in what phases of Protestantism do they reside and wherein lies its future?

II

In order to understand the Protestant dilemma it is necessary to recognize that Protestantism stems from two essentially different historical sources. As these two origins are different, so they have

throughout the development of Protestantism created a conflict within the movement that has never been fully reconciled. At the present stage of its development this conflict has reached the proportions of a dilemma, with the necessity of choice between or integration of two clearly marked alternatives. Upon that choice the future of Protestantism depends.

Throughout its entire history there has been a conflict between the liberal and the conservative tendencies within Christianity. It first appeared in the issues between the Pauline-Gentile movement and the Judaising party in Judea which culminated in the Council at Jerusalem. The same tension appeared among the early Church Fathers and among the leaders of medieval Christianity. It was also present among the leaders of the Reformation. Even within Catholicism itself there have been marked differences of opinion as between liberalism and conservatism. But Protestantism, stemming as it does from a dual origin, has greatly accentuated this conflict and brought it to sharp issue.

One of the sources of Protestantism, as its name suggests, was a reaction from orthodox Roman Catholicism. That phase of the Reformation which issued in Protestantism was so violent as to result in a complete rupture with Catholicism, as contrasted with that led by Erasmus which remained within the Catholic tradition.

It is important to note, however, that with the exception of certain important doctrines, such as that of salvation by faith, that of transubstantiation, and the authority of the Bible, the revolt against Catholicism was chiefly in the realm of ecclesiastical practice. As a result, the theology of Protestantism has for the most part moved well within the orthodoxy of Catholicism. On the whole, therefore, it may be said that the ideology of Protestantism is deeply rooted in traditional orthodoxy with its metaphysical doctrines concerning the nature of God and man, the person of Christ, original sin, the supernatural action of divine grace, the sacramental nature of the church and the ordinances, and supernatural revelation.

The other, and on the surface the more remote, source of Protestantism was the Renaissance. Viewed in the perspective of history, the Renaissance would seem to have exerted the more fundamental and far-reaching influence in the shaping of Protestantism than the reaction from Catholicism. It is doubtful whether the revolt against Catholicism in the north of Europe in the sixteenth century could

have taken place had it not been for the intellectual and social forces which the Renaissance set in motion in the south of Europe in the thirteenth century.

The Renaissance was a reaction from the whole intellectual, social, and political system of the Middle Ages. As such it was a reaction against Catholicism as only one phase of medieval culture. It was a reaction from unity and authority toward freedom and individualism. It focused attention upon the world of nature and of man as distinguished from the supernatural and other-worldly. It placed its emphasis upon inductive reason, inquiry, and experimentation as over against an a priori method of thought and an irrational faith. From it sprang a scientific interest, on the one hand, and a romantic interest in the inner life of man that found expression in the vernacular, on the other. From it derive the modern experiments in democratic living. The Renaissance was the fountainhead of liberalism. In it were laid the structural foundations of the modern world. It is a watershed of history rising like a mountain range between the old world and the new.

In thinking of the Renaissance it is necessary, as in the case of Christianity itself, to think of it in terms of process. The movement of modern thought and life which had its rise in the Renaissance has undergone many changes, including certain reactions within the movement itself. Many further developments are still to be expected. Nevertheless, it is not difficult to penetrate beneath these changes in a movement of such high potential to the root ideas and attitudes that gave form and substance to the modern world.

It will thus be seen that the orientation, spirit, and intellectual methods of the two sources of Protestantism were fundamentally different and, when followed to their logical conclusions, lead in different, if not opposite, directions. It was inevitable, therefore, that throughout the history of Protestantism there should be two divergent tendencies — toward liberalism on the one hand, and toward a reaffirmation of a traditional medieval orthodoxy on the other.

One result of this conflict has been a realignment of Protestants along lines of liberalism and conservative orthodoxy that cut across the older denominational boundaries. Differences on this issue range from the most liberal on one end of a scale to the most conservatively orthodox at the other end, with varying degrees of liberalism and conservatism between. This is true of communions as it is of individ-

uals within communions. Consequently, there is greater difference between liberals and orthodox within many denominations than there is between denominations themselves over the issues that originally divided them.

A second result is the current reaction from liberalism and a pronounced regression toward orthodoxy on the part of the dialectic and neo-orthodox movements. During the latter part of the nineteenth century and the early part of the twentieth century there was a marked development of the liberal tendency among Protestants. As a phenomenon of the postwar world, with its social dislocations, disillusionments, and frustrations, under the leadership of men who share the views of Karl Barth, many Protestants have returned to the authority, the unity, and the supposed security of the orthodoxy of Calvin, Augustine, and certain elements in the teaching of Paul. In this vigorous reaction there is a definite shift from the tendencies that spring from the Renaissance source of Protestantism to its orthodox Catholic source. It is, in fact, a repudiation of the liberalism that has characterized the modern world whose intellectual and spiritual foundations were laid in the Renaissance. Whatever other implications the current neo-orthodox movement may have, its chief significance lies in the fact that it reveals the radical nature of the Protestant dilemma.

This tension has existed in the heart of Protestantism from the beginning because of its dual origin. Protestantism has attempted the impossible task of living in two worlds — the static and authoritative world of a priori metaphysical theology and the free and democratic world of empirical thought and action. Between these two worlds its loyalties have been tragically divided. It appears to be approaching the time when, if it is to be an effective force in the modern world, it must choose in which of these two worlds it will make its spiritual home. In its present phase Protestantism is a house divided against itself in its spiritual outlook, its intellectual processes, and its commitments. This divided self may account in considerable part for the resurgence of the sense of sin in the current Protestant literature.

In any event, it is clear that Protestantism is passing through a period of transition, the chief characteristic of which is the ambiguities of its position. The saving synthesis to which affirmative faith looks forward has not yet been reached.

III

The mere mention of four of these ambiguities will clearly suggest the sources of its confusion.

The first ambiguity concerns the place of the Bible in Protestantism. In breaking away from Catholicism, Protestantism adopted the Bible as its sole source of authority in faith and conduct. As such it was regarded as a supernatural revelation of static truth once for all delivered to the saints. As a result, however, of the application of the scientific and historical methods that stemmed from the Renaissance, the ground has been cut from beneath the Bible as the basis of authority in the traditional sense. It is now seen to be the product of the continuing Hebrew and Christian communities deposited in strata representing the most primitive as well as developed cultural levels, and the most immature as well as the highest spiritual concepts and ideals. Biblical scholars are quite agreed that it is quite impossible to get back to the actual words of Jesus. Thus Protestantism is confused as to whether it shall seek its authority in the stream of human experience or in an official supernatural revelation.

A second ambiguity has to do with the corporateness of Protestantism. For four centuries sectarianism has been the basic pattern of Protestantism. In recent years, however, there has been a marked deterioration of the differences that historically have divided Protestants. Regional and social differences such as once separated the northern and southern branches of the Methodist, Presbyterian, and Baptist churches over the issue of the Civil War have ceased to have any meaning. The modern mind is less and less sensitive to the creedal issues of an earlier period as having little or no relevance to the interests and activities of contemporary life. In the presence of the vast social issues that confront the church in the modern world Protestantism presents no solid front and has no collective voice.

For more than a century Protestantism has been developing an increasingly sensitive conscience in regard to its divisions. Its divisions are seen to be more than a source of ineffectiveness; they seem to have rent the seamless robe of Christ. Sectarianism has taken on the somber aspects of sin. It is against the background of sectarianism that the ecumenical idea has emerged. It is an affirmation of the corporate oneness of Protestantism and envisions a world church that will transcend all boundaries of nationality, race, creed, and

culture. Furthermore, the confusion of a divided Protestantism seeking corporateness is deepened by the consideration that, notwithstanding the fact that the search for corporateness is generated by the intellectual and social forces of the modern world, Protestantism is seeking the basis for its corporateness in patterns of thought derived from Catholic orthodoxy. The Oxford and Edinburgh Conferences have stressed the supernatural and sacramental nature of the church and have insisted that, in this sense, the church should be the church, set over against the secular world. The conditions of membership in the World Council of Churches is the affirmation of a traditional metaphysical dogma concerning the person of Christ.

A third ambiguity, as Professor George A. Coe has pointed out in his latest book, *What is Religion Doing to our Consciences?* has to do with the ethical conscience of Protestantism. In the common life of man new judgments are arising as to the rightness and wrongness of human relations in the areas of capital and labor, politics, international relations, production and distribution of goods, race relations, and war. These fresh insights and new convictions are pressing upon the stereotyped morality of the churches which conceive these problems and their solution in traditional terms which they have inherited from the remote past. The ambiguity thus created is accentuated by the fact that Protestantism as a middle class movement is so closely identified with the economic system and the interests of the ruling class that it has largely lost its capacity for objective criticism of the social process, together with its ability to participate in social reconstruction. Nevertheless, on these problems the church has an uneasy conscience, rendered more uneasy because it seems relegated to the sidelines of positive and effective social action. Moreover, the expression of an ethical conscience in the social gospel that for a time gripped the imagination of Protestantism, is for the moment largely eclipsed by a resurgence of theological interest.

The fourth, and perhaps most baffling, ambiguity arises out of the relation of Protestantism to so-called secular culture. The foundations of the modern world, as we have seen, were laid down in the Renaissance. From its interest in the natural world sprang the natural sciences. From its interest in man and his associated life grew the social sciences and the modern humanities. As a result of the application of the method of science to the data of nature and human

experience, resulting in a constantly mounting body of knowledge, we have increasingly accurate and dependable understanding of man and his world. Even more important than this body of tested knowledge is the fact that the modern secular world has adopted the scientific method of thought for dealing with the facts of the common life — observation of facts, analysis of factors and possibilities, prediction, and the testing of outcomes by experiment. This method is at the opposite pole from the a priori, metaphysical mode of thought of medieval orthodoxy. The secular world does not find it fruitful to resort to the theological myths and formulas, such as the fall of man and original sin, in order to interpret, judge, and redirect man's experience in a real and present world. On the contrary, it finds these outmoded concepts irrelevant and confusing.

As a result there has grown up a vast chasm between orthodox Protestantism and the secular world. Across this chasm there is little communication, since there is no common idiom of interchangeable terms which both worlds can understand. As a result, the secular world does not hear the voice of the church or, if it does, does not understand. Contrariwise, the orthodox church is disposed to think that the secular world has ttle or nothing to say to it, and what it says the church does not understand. This widening gulf is the more tragic because, as has already been pointed out, many of the most significant ethical and spiritual movements in our generation are springing up out of the massive social forces of the common life outside the church. Many of the leaders of these movements show a devotion and commitment commensurable with those of the ancient heroes and martyrs of the church. Here in the interplay of the social forces of the common life history is in the making and God is creatively at work in shaping the form of things to come.

In addition to the chasm that exists between orthodox Christianity and the secular world, another chasm is widening between orthodox Christianity and the oncoming generation of young people who are getting their orientation toward life from the point of view of scientific knowledge and method. Consequently, the difficulties of communication between generations is as great as that between orthodoxy and the secular world.

Here, then, lies the Protestant dilemma. Protestantism must come to terms with the tension which arose from its dual origin and which it has carried in its heart from the beginning. Only by consciously

facing the issue which it raises can it find integrity for itself and the grounds for effective functioning in the modern world.

IV

There would seem to be two alternatives between which Protestantism must ultimately choose. The first is to join the current revolt against reason and return to the authority, supernaturalism, and irrational faith of the dialectic and neo-orthodox leaders who look with nostalgia upon the orthodox Catholic origin of Protestantism. This would mean, if followed to its logical outcome, commitment to the absolute transcendence of God, set over against man, nature, and the time process as the totally other; the degradation of man as a depraved creature incapable of originating or effecting any good intention; sin as the central fact of human experience, inherited as an essential part of man's estate; the irrational nature of religious experience; the incompetence of human reason, beyond prescribed limits, to apprehend God; the sole sufficiency of faith beyond these limits as an organ for understanding religious truth; the paradoxical nature of human experience in which man faces conflicts he is helpless to resolve; the cataclysmic and miraculous operation of grace wholly dependent upon the arbitrary will of God; the authority of the Bible, the interpretation of which is amenable to historical method or man's critical intelligence only in its historic relevancies, but the understanding of whose message is accessible only to faith. To choose this alternative is to renounce the liberalism that derives from the Renaissance, self-reliance, the social gospel, and rational religion. Its logical outcome is pessimism and an eschatological view of history.

The second alternative of Protestantism is to go forward to an even more radical application of the methods of empirical and experimental thought to the problems of religion and life as they appear in the modern world. In that event it would hold that God and man sustain reciprocal relations, seeking and finding each other at the point where man interacts with the world of reality; that man is a child of God, created in the long process of emerging forms — a process still creatively going forward; that man's kinship with God inheres in his human endowments of intelligence, his ability to appreciate and create values, his capacity to weigh alternatives and to make choices, and his ability to organize his personal and social

behavior in terms of historic and emerging values; that in man's freedom to choose lie alike his sins and his virtues as well as his responsibility to a moral order of the universe; that God's grace operates through the normal processes of nature and growth; that revelation comprehends the reciprocal elements of discovery and disclosure; that the findings of the physical, biological, and social sciences are to be respected and trusted; that faith and intelligence are inseparably interrelated as phases of man's dynamic relation to his objective world, mutually sustaining and informing each other. From the liberal point of view the heritage of Christian faith is always undergoing reinterpretation and reconstruction in the light of new insights and new meanings derived from current experience. Because it is grounded in faith in the continuing creative activity of God in history, liberal Protestantism is and will continue to be optimistic in its inherited Christian hope for a better world.

Should Protestantism choose this latter liberal alternative, it is devoutly to be hoped that it will not lose the fundamental and enduring values that it has inherited through its long and significant orthodox tradition. In the orthodox tradition there are profound insights into the nature of the world and man, rooted in the long centuries of experience, which, though expressed in formulas that belong to another age and are no longer tenable, are still profoundly valid. These values need to be dissociated from their dated historical contexts and released for current use. Among these enduring values are insight into the deep tragedy of human life, which liberalism has not always sufficiently felt; a profound sense of significance in human experience beyond the immediate scene, which liberalism has sometimes failed to realize in its vast complexity and mystery, though it cannot conceive of it in terms of the supernatural as over against the natural; an appreciation of the past and tradition as the grounds upon which present experience rests and as the carriers of the precious heritage of Christian faith; a unity of experience and thought in contrast to the radical atomism of the modern world, in which liberalism has so deeply shared and to which it has contributed; the account which orthodoxy has taken of the irrational elements of human experience arising from older and deeper levels than man's rational intelligence; a sense of certainty grounded in profound convictions concerning dynamic and growing values rather than dogmas. These are correctives which an over-optimistic and self-

confident liberalism may well derive from the abiding insights of its orthodox tradition.

It would appear, therefore, that the hope for Protestantism as it faces its century-old dilemma lies in the direction of achieving a synthesis of an empirical and experimental method of thought and life with these enduring values of its orthodox tradition, freed from their dated and outmoded formulas and reinterpreted in the thought-forms of the modern world. Such a synthesis would be an advance from the extremes of Catholic orthodoxy, on the one hand, and the radical forms of liberalism, on the other, to a new and higher synthesis that arises from the integration of the deep insights from the experience of our Christian past with the orientation of the modern liberal mind toward reality and the methods of dealing with that reality through the application of intelligence to the data of experience.

In such a synthesis lies the way to an affirmative faith of liberal Protestantism — a positive faith grounded in conviction, not dogma, and leading to commitments and a passionate sense of mission in our generation in the creative moment of history where Christianity is reinterpreting its faith and is taking on new directions and new qualities in its interaction with the modern world.

HOW TO CONDUCT A CONTROVERSY

By GEORGE M. GIBSON

THE history of the church could be related in terms of the ten great persecutions and as many major controversies. In the persecutions the shape of the fellowship to come was being hammered out on anvils of cruelty, the spirit tempered by fires of hatred. The church emerged through conflict and suffering, with mighty issues drawn between itself and the outside world.

In the controversies within the body of the elect, the message and way of life was subjected to the process of definition and refinement, in order to become a proper equipment and weapon for propagation and defense.

A multitude of minor issues and quarrels, continuing through every age of the Christian era, shows the two tension areas from which arise new occasions, new duties and new insights into truth. One such area is that between religion and the world; the other, that within religion's own house. It is to this latter that I turn, hoping to discover in some of the past controversies within religion, a few clues as to our proper conduct in the present crisis.

I small omit a critical review of the major debates that swept the early church from its eastern outposts to England, involving harsh asperities, the calling of Councils, and sometimes, imperial interference for final settlement. By Bede's time, the first five Councils had already been accepted as shaping the orthodoxy of Christendom, and their findings incorporated along with the creeds as the symbols of the settled truth of the church. In the adjectives applied to the advocates of the losing side, the English Church of 680 A.D. shows itself still near enough the early conflicts to include their temper along with their truth. The Synod of Heathfield declared:

> We have received the five and holy general councils of the blessed fathers acceptable to God. That is, of 318 bishops, who were assembled at Nice, against the most *impious* Arius and his tenets; and at Constantinople, of 150 against the *madness* of Macedonius and Eudoxius, and their tenets; and at Ephesus, first of 200, against the most *wicked* Nestorius, and his tenets; and at Chalcedon, of 360, against Eutyches and Nestorius, and their tenets; and again, at Constantinople, in a fifth council, in the reign of Justinian the younger, against Theodorus and Theodoret, and the epistles of Iba, and their tenets, against Cyril.

We content ourselves with the truth that was forged in these ancient fires, and refrain from stirring the dead ashes. Whether we think the truth of the fathers was illuminated by the light of burning heretics, or saved by their rigorous suppression, the old quarrels of the church serve mainly to remind us that the fathers were made of like mold with ourselves, who have our own issues, both major and minor, to stir our minds to activity through division and contest.

Recognizing this continuing fact of controversy, we shall attempt a sort of dissection of its anatomy. Our initial confession is that we have no very definite conclusions to offer, but, rather, certain observations and comments.

I

First, there is in the constitution of man a psychological need for an issue. Emerson recognized this in advising, "Young man, go join yourself to some unpopular minority cause" — although the great essayist proved his prowess more in stirring others to do that than in doing it himself. Neutrality has something to commend it, but it is usually a neutrality of a sort. There is the person who stands aloof from the argument of the hour in which most others are at loggerheads, and keeps his own head intact for what he deems a better work. He, too, has his issue, though it be one fought out in the secrecy of his soul, or between his determined mind and some problem of which the public is unaware. He may be Browning's *Grammarian*, withdrawing in ascetic solitude for the sake of a Latin root, or Wordsworth turning from the revolutionary cause of Europe back to nature. But there is another neutrality, branded by Guicciardini as "the most fatal of all neutralities — that which results not from choice but from irresolution." It was this that made of Hamlet the very archetype of spiritual confusion, and that shows itself in its victim as paralysis of decisive action. The presence of controversy recognizes this need in the nature of man to find a rallying center for his powers of mind and spirit, and to joy in the tough lance of his own discovered truth against those who would destroy it. Not individual men alone, but every generation needs its issue.

Those who bewail all appearance of disunity in the fellowship of the faithful ignore this psychological need, as well as serve to suppress the truth. Sensitive spirits who can see no good in arguments, could properly take them to a nunnery, a research laboratory, or an easel;

life as it is lived is not for them, and if, perforce, they are caught up in its living issues, they are of all men most miserable. Those who have a congenital distaste for the tussle of mind with mind, may make a very happy management of life if, knowing themselves, they make a conscious withdrawal as Virgil did during the Augustan campaigns, biding his time and idly singing to Tityrus under the beech shade the songs of husbandry until concord again rules the land and domestic pursuits return to their rightful place.

Sir Thomas Browne could be taken as the father of non-controversialists. Holding that, "While the Mercies of God do promise us Heaven, our conceits and opinions exclude us from that place," he manifested a forgivable pride in his own freedom from the common tempers, saying:

> I cannot fall out or contemn a man for an error, or conceive why a difference in opinion should divide an affection; for Controversies, Disputes, and Argumentations, both in Philosophy and Divinity, if they meet with discreet and peaceful natures, do not infringe the laws of Charity. . . . Controversies are never determined; for though they be amply proposed, they are scarce at all handled, they do so swell with unnecessary Digressions; . . . the Foundations of religion are already established, and the principles of salvation subscribed unto by all; there remains not many controversies worth a passion. . . . Yea, even among the wiser militants, how many wounds have been given, and credits slain, for the poor victory of an opinion, or beggarly conquest of a distinction?

Browne satisfies his inner need to be against something with generalizations which few would contest, and is mainly in accord with general judgment when he speaks strongly of a type, rather than a particular man or particular party: "It is no breach of charity to call such *Fools*." The whole variety of quarrels of a most quarrelsome century did not draw this irenic medic from his purpose to observe life and morality as though from outside the arenas and forums where Papists and Protestants persecuted each other and Dissenters and Established engaged in a battle for life.

His biographer contrasted him with "the formidable Alexander Ross, in the *Medicus Medicatus*," who drove his heavy bludgeon this way and that through the tenuous fabric of the *Religio* "without damaging a whit its spiritual substance." Browne preferred to be like those heretics who do nothing but pray than like those who do nothing but quarrel.

Richard Hooker, claiming a distaste for dispute almost as pronounced as that of Browne, nonetheless enters the lists duty bound

and proves his purity with the toughness of his lance. His monumental *Ecclesiastical Polity* remains the classic defence of the usages of the Established Church against the angry onslaughts of the Dissenters; his chief weapon, the clear sword of reasonableness, and his spirit to match, lifting the controversy from a "mere interchange of unjust and unseemly disgraces" to the higher levels of mind and spirit. The result is a document which now, three centuries after, serves as the reasonable apology for ecclesiastical usages, and one only incidentally stamped with the date of its writing.

Such a man recognizes the need for honest controversy, and feels that honest men should neither feel argumentation to be beneath their dignity nor surrender their charity in order to deal with the enemy in his own coin.

II

A mere absence of discussion is no evidence of an absence of problem, but more frequently the sign of a suppression needing desperately to be lifted in order to let the spirit be free. To those who have suffered from such attempts at suppression goes chief credit for its effective challenge. We remember that long before the Athanasian creed was formed as the chief symbol of the general church, it was "Athanasias against the world," one man agitating until a sense of problem was created. Spinoza, excommunicated, rebuked the attempt too often made by official "truth" to brand all controversies as sedition. "The Turks," he said, "consider controversy impious, and so clog men's minds with dogmatic formulas, that they leave no room for sound reason, not even enough to doubt with." Variety of judgments and opinions proves that there is a problem — and another side. As Fueillant said, "It must indeed be that this not so certain, for controversy indicates uncertainty." So Charles E. Jefferson could hail the year 1924: "We have arrived at a season of religious controversy; that is a good sign."

III

The moot point is more interesting than the settled, and this alone should be a large reason for men standing for the general right to argue, even with the use of strong speech. Hooker, though regretting the uncomplimentary remarks of the opposition, is capable himself of a colorful description in due place, and is interesting not in spite

of it but because of it. One disagrees with his overniceness, while rejoicing in the occasional fine phrase that really puts an opponent in his place. He recommends that in reading the Fathers we *reject* that which is the product of unresolved controversy and *accept* that which they speak in unity: "When they speak but one thing their discourses are heavenly, their words sweet as the honeycomb, their tongues melodiously tuned instruments, their sentences mere consolation and joy." Such a formula would save Thomas à Kempis' *Imitation* for us, but would not save us from boredom. It would rule out all strong deliverances, including much of Hooker himself; and all of Reinhold Niebuhr. If only the agreeable were made into a new canon, the impoverishment of literature and of the common life would result, and countless undiscussed issues would fester in spiritual discontent beneath their suppressions.

Strong speech is its own reward, and wins the approbation of all healthy persons to boot. In Bret Harte's *The Outcasts of Poker Flat*, the Duchess says: "Cussing makes you feel better. Just you go out there and cuss and see." How often people are attracted to the heroic speech of some disputant even more than to his truth, would be hard to determine. But in some degree everyone loves it, for telling words have the quality of life. An enthusiastic Jewess asked: "Did you hear our rabbi on the radio? Say! He didn't call a spade a spade; he just called it a damned shovel." They asked for it, and he let them have it. And may the sewing circle make the most of it.

IV

If one proposes, then, to be a controversialist, let him know the weapons he must use, and those he must meet. Let him use the appropriate instruments without dulling their effect with polite inhibitions; and face those of the opposition without whining continually for fair play.

Now controversy means strange bedfellows, in churches as well as in politics. Truth and error are never aligned against each other, but both sides have truth and error mixed. The disputant may cry loudly: "Thus saith the Lord," but if he is both intelligent and honest he knows it is his own speech and his own thought. And he knows that he represents what he considers the better side of two, both having a generous ingredient of untruth and indecency: the purest

proponents are compelled to make their peace with smelly bedfellows.

The astute disputant, recognizing this, will make the most of the unhappy relations of his opponent, and will try, by loudly calling attention to some temporary alliance, to make it appear an inherent affinity. He will, by the same token, minimize his own embarrassments, and, as long as he can, maintain a discreet silence about his liaisons with the underworld. He will break that silence when caught in a compromising position, by reminding his public that "the errors of the most seduced are mixed with some truths," and we should be charitable. Or in righteous dudgeon, he will ask, "Shall we forsake the truth because idolaters hold it?"

The polemic man saves his integrity at the expense of truth. "His role is not to speak accurately," says Pascal, "but to make false figures of speech, particularly the antithesis, by forming words, like those who make false windows for symmetry." Consistency does not burden him. He says, "It is new, it is old," depending upon whether his hearers are progressive or conservative. In the relativities of the rostrum and forum, virtue and vice on both sides make truce. The dispassionate judicial mind would prove no match for the advocate set to win a cause. The very zeal for truth renders him sensitive to its appearance on both sides of the argument, and leads him habitually to couch his every expression with a modifying caution. The advocate of his cause, on the other hand, must use truth as his incidental instrument; and, again, must ignore or even ridicule it in the forms it takes with the opposition. Knowing this about himself, and about the nature of his task, the polemist is no necessary hypocrite. Truth may even be one of his large secondary concerns; it simply cannot be his primary concern. And, in a pinch, he will demonstrate that he subordinates it to another value, with such outbursts as "It may not be logical, but it is life." The realistic disputant, knowing all this, is inwardly more charitable toward his foe, however hard he strikes; yet he is not so likely to be taken in by his opponents' pretensions to the truth. He sees the controversy for what it is, an effort of two sides each to win against the other, with truth holding some relative stakes on both sides. We need not despair of him; on the other hand we may be both entertained and stimulated. But the man of whom we despair is he who writes his

blatant pamphlets on "*The Truth* About So and So"; he may be put down for a hypocrite, conscious or not, and only the expert may find the truth in his pretensions. Truth is indeed in his opinions, but not at the point where he imagines it.

V

The main objective of controversial strategy is the winning of those not yet committed. In that no man's land lies the final victory. Debate is not calculated to persuade the opponent. Persuasion belongs in an entirely different order, one requiring its own spirit and technique. One is self-deceived so long as he thinks that in an argument he is trying to persuade the man against him. The whole spirit and method of argumentation is set against it and, rather than drawing an opposite mind into one's own position, fortifies it the stronger in its own, provokes the more impregnable defences and, as the argument progresses, the more deeply involves the opponent's ego with his position. If one means to persuade a man, he will use persuasive means, chiefly offering him a fair example. In this regard Spinoza says:

> I have often wondered that men who make a boast of professing the Christian religion, namely love, joy, peace, temperance, and charity to all men, should quarrel with such rancorous animosity and display daily towards one another such bitter hatred, that this, rather than the virtues they claim, is the readiest criterion of their faith.

Your controversialist cannot care too much about persuading his enemies, so long as he conducts his campaign to win the bystanders. Pascal had persuasion in mind, and not polemics, when he said:

> When we wish to correct with advantage and to show another that he errs, we must notice from what side he views the matter, for on that side it is usually true, and admit that truth to him, but reveal to him the side on which it is false. He is satisfied with that, for he sees that he was not mistaken, and that he only failed to see all sides. Now, no one is offended at not seeing everything; but one does not like to be mistaken.

It is apparent that here is a psychology, most effective in personal persuasion, but one which would prove as ineffective in debate as the debating technique in the other.

VI

The "name-calling" device, so prevalent in controversy, is clearly designed to attract the bystanders, rather than win the opposition. Though these rugged appellations incite the enemy to a very rage it is all to the good, for by his rage he alienates the onlookers while at the same time they are attracted by the picturesqueness of the other's abuse. We have an honorable tradition of name calling. The Arians referred to Athanasius as "Satanasius," while the style "impious Arians" was as common with the trinitarians as "dam-yank" with southern partizans. And the pamphlets of Martin Luther are not even to be circulated in mixed company in our more polite times. Even the most dignified controversialists show a knack for the strong term, properly placed, and far from refraining from calling names, they emphasize them the more by their very restraint. All these have their prophetic precedent in one who called the women of his day "cows of Bashan," and their divine Example who did not stop short of referring to his adversaries as snakes, hypocrites and robbers.

We find scarcely a controversialist who can by his own example sustain an absolute objection to name calling. They object to being called names, but the very objections are filled with uncomplimentary terms applied to the opposition. We confess a dislike for one who whines over being called a name, but who, in the same whining breath, calls another. If the pot calls the kettle black, it is better for the kettle to keep quiet about it than to complain while returning in kind. The name-caller who righteously objects to being called names is a hit-and-run controversialist; he should be made to suffer to satisfy the healthy instinct for sportsmanship. Let effeminates stay out of controversy; it is not for them. Dispute is a give and take, and one must take as well as give if the bystanders are not to judge him for a cry-baby. We regret the loss of one of Teutonius' manuscripts "On the Origin and Early Import of Imprecations and Words of Abuse"; it might have made Christian controversy even more picturesque.

Of course the business may get out of hand, and your weapon prove a boomerang. Invectives may prove too bitter, and arguments too weak. If you mean to win the onlookers to your side, do not offend

their sense of common decency and fair play. Luther in his day could speak a commonly accepted language in reflecting on the ancestry of his opponents, and Dante could, without offending anyone but his adversary, "Dip his pen in buzzard's blood and let the wretch go festering through Florence." It was a common acceptance that one could dispose of a theological or political opponent by ridiculing him as "the father of a hunch-back" or "the son of a so-and-so." But the present taste would call a certain decision against that sort of performance. Most men hold a certain status of honor in which the public seeks to maintain them against distasteful criticism. An attacker will then be wary lest his strictures fall more heavily upon himself than on his target. The recent obscure labor speaker who designated one of our national heroes as "Public Rat No. 1," who ought not to have been saved from the raft on which he drifted at sea, did neither himself nor his cause any good, though he probably had the better case. He put himself in the same position with a certain writer once foolish enough to attempt the discredit of Father Augustine, whom the poet Prosper disposed of in a verse:

> A scribbler vile inflamed with hellish spite,
> Against the great Augustine dared to write;
> Presumptuous serpent! from what midnight den
> Durst thou to crawl on earth and look at men?

Similarly one's quibbles may betray him if not handled with the hand of a master. There is a very proper use for quibbling in controversy, the adroit handling of side-issues, and irrevelancies which abound in every issue. The Reformers did a good amount of it, and in their zeal to criticize the conventional church, dragged in minutiae, even ridiculing the most innocuous practices as well as making a case against the major corruptions. The real service of quibbling is to minimize the opponent's larger truth by magnifying his little errors. It is sometimes advantageous for the real issue to be obscured while the battle is waged upon lesser fronts promising an easier victory. The danger of quibbling is that it makes for a carping spirit which sees no good on the other side, and betrays itself into a total opposition which cannot be sustained. When the English Reformers searched the established practices for something more to criticize in the hated "popery," they came upon the custom of prescribed prayers for deliverance from calamity. Rather than admit

the good in this, they carped at it because it was not accompanied with prayers of thanksgiving after the calamity was over, a rather absurd sort of confession of the worth of the opponent's position.

Associated with this quibbling is the often used device of caricature. Almost never does the controversialist correctly quote his opposition. More often he reduces him to an absurdity by making him say what he could never say himself, or at least shades his meaning through the subtleties of emphasis. When Pelagius criticized the extra neatness of the apparel of the clergy, Jerome brought a great deal of extra matter into the refutation.

> Is it enmity with God that I wear my coat somewhat handsome? Then clerks, monks, widows, virgins, take heed, it is dangerous for you to be otherwise seen than in foul and ragged clothes. Not to speak anything of secular men who are said to have war with God, as oft as ever they put on precious and shining clothes.

Now this kind of asceticism is a real position with some, such as Anthony or Francis, but it was not a thing Pelagius was presenting, and hence called for no answer. What Pelagius did present in this instance was the criticism of "extra neatness of apparel for the clergy." In dragging in the absurdity of "foul and ragged clothes," Father Jerome proved himself capable of a very ancient trick of debate, the straw man, or the caricature. Coupled with it is the device of appealing to the interests of bystanders, the "clerks, monks, widows, virgins, and secular men," whom Pelagius did not include in his attack. Evidently Jerome felt the need of allies, and, in trying to win them by exciting their resentment against his opponent, he illustrated another customary method of controversy. And Pelagius began it all with yet another trick, the censure of men's smaller faults to prejudice their superior virtues.

Appeal to authorities is another favorite. Oratory customarily calls the roll of the great, the living and the dead, to make the appearance of support of their position. This is often done without discrimination, and with little regard for the intelligence of the listeners, as in the political harangue which loudly cites Washington, Jefferson, Hamilton, and Wilson, without any nice regard as to whether the philosophies of these men match the present argument. There is the question too, How authoritative are the authorities? And how acceptable to those you address? Bede said of certain heretics:

Saint Augustine and other orthodox fathers, quoted many thousand catholic authorities against them, yet they would not correct their madness; but, on the contrary, their folly was rather increased by contradiction, and they refused to embrace the truth.

Next, our happy controversialist must know the proper use of silence, one of the constant weapons of offence and defence when debate is joined. This is the resort of every corrupt politician when caught red-handed in his scandal, and a convenience for the weaker side. But it is also effective in implying the unworthiness of the attack. By silence one appraises the opposition argument as beneath answering. It is enough if that valuation becomes public. A silence, punctuated merely by a dignified "Yea, yea," and "Nay, nay," may not be expected to do the whole work of controversy; but at questionable points it is better than a page or even a volume; and, given time, the opponent under such treatment may be exasperated into such extravagant speech as will do more damage to himself than another could do to him, his own boisterous courage and breath the sure sign that he struggles with that which he cannot master.

Our intelligent contender will watch for such opportunities and at the proper moment, when the opposition is about to make a display of overwrought emotions, will manifest the high dignity of his own position, saying:

We are still persuaded that a bare denial is answer sufficient — and that the best apology to words of scorn and petulancy is Isaac's to his brother Ishmael, that which patience and silence maketh. Our answer, therefore, to their reasonings is no; to their scoffs, nothing.

We will go for a man who can contain himself in such a fashion in face of manifestly unfair or ridiculous assertions of men who blaspheme what they do not know; and will stay with him when the emotions of his opponent are clearly beyond reason. But let not the silence be mistaken for the expression of an haughty spirit. Knowing that silence is also the resort of those who know themselves incapable of making reasonable answer, our happy warrior will not fall into that appearance, but will be alert to speak out when it appears that the unreason of the opposition, by sheer persistence, is winning its way. Under those circumstances, "Those who were ashamed to defile their pens with making answer to such idle questions," knew they were licked.

On the whole, it is a good generalization that anger and choler in an argument are reactions of the weaker side, confessing the failure of reason to sustain the cause.

Your excessive polemist who worries his one idea like a dog his bone, and pillories his pet peeve on all corners, is apt to create an interest in the other side more than in his own, particularly if he shows unfair animus. Sleeping dogs need sometimes to be aroused, and due honor to the gadfly that stings them awake. But the wary man, though ever so much for or against a thing, will draw his issue under proper circumstances that offer some opportunity for victory. And an antagonist makes himself look foolish who has proved himself the unwitting advertiser of his enemies' goods. Reinhard, charging Nietzsche with "schleiermacherizing," aroused Nietzsche's interest in the works of Schleiermacher, with which he had no former acquaintance, with the result of a strong friendship — thanks to Reinhard's misplaced accusation.

The lack of weight of the argument itself frequently produces a like effect. Pascal declared: "They will say to you things so feeble and so petty, that they will persuade you to the contrary." If a man would have his polemics do more than offer relief to his own emotions, he will heed such dangers.

VII

Controversies, to be useful, should arrive at the real contest, ploughing through tricks and irrelevancies to the real difference between points of view. Voltaire might have argued with a Bishop till doomsday on the question of the Virgin Birth, — with total futility. But he came to the real difference, presenting, as T. S. Eliot said, "better than anyone else the *unbelieving* point of view" against the *believing*. The truly basic issue, once arrived at, the added seriousness of the dispute is recognized in the observation that "the quarrels of friends are more bitter than those of enemies." Aquinas found an insuperable difficulty in refuting the errors of Mohammedans and pagans "because they do not agree with us as to the authority of any Scripture whereby they may be convinced," and found it easier to talk with Jews by the Old Testament and heretics with the New, and even where no common Biblical basis existed, found ground enough in natural philosophy for many discussions. Debate is fruitless without that common ground, and should come, in the end, to

the basic agreement which its tricky irrelevancies have obscured. All controversies are sooner or later resolved, and the most permanent resolution is in finding the common ground from which they began.

Another manner of ending hostilities is through sheer fatigue of passion, and the exhaustion of interest of both sides. A good time was had by all, but the oft-repeated arguments are boresome. Heat is cooled, reason restored, and the public deserts the forum.

Again, the issue is often settled in a truce, more or less lasting, as former opponents are brought together to become allies on another issue, the new furore eclipsing interest in the old. The Gentleman with a Duster wrote: "I asked a certain Dean the other day whether the old controversy between High Church and Low Church still obtained in his diocese. 'Oh, dear no,' he replied. 'High and Low are now united to fight modernists.' " And the acceptable controversialist will be sensitive to the new demands upon his vocabulary, turning with the tide to find his place in the new argument. Only the most stubborn and least imaginative will continue raking the old coals, like the professional social worker who still entertains himself with the same old saws against piety these twenty years after his issue is dead. A settled issue is like a last year's bird's nest, or yesterday's fried egg. And nothing is so boring as the man who keeps on arguing after the case has rested. He is known by the dilemmas he keeps as a person out of date, who proudly clung to his first belief and withered in his pride. His issue will likely come up again, but it must come with reality and freshness. He would do well now to let it rest, and proceed to a timelier and livelier cause.

The official decision on a dispute often ends the immediate quarreling, but seldom puts a period. The Venerable Bede, more than twelve hundred years ago, boasted that Pelagianism had not only been abolished, but anathematized these two hundred years, yet he found it necessary to exhort his contemporaries not to revive it. The reappearance of this "heresy" from age to age, including our own time, argues for some suppressed truth, buried along with it under official pronouncement, crying out for its resurrection, as well as for the recurrence of old error in every new cycle of time.

> One General Council [wrote Browne] is not able to extirpate one single heresy: it may be cancelled for the present; but revolution of time and the like aspects from heaven, will restore it when it will flourish till it be condemned again.

Eternal vigilance is the price of truth.

VIII

Controversies, being thus mixed with good and evil, should produce more of good to justify the enormous emotional energies spent upon them. Their evils are readily seen. They produce without fail those "unseemly and unjust disgraces offered by men whose tongues and passions are out of rule," and much incidental damage to reputations is suffered by the contestants on both sides. For the duration, at least, the cause of unity is eclipsed by partisan claims, and the irreligious are delighted over the manifest inability of the brethren to dwell together in concord. At least one Emperor, Julian, relied upon internal dissensions to destroy Christianity rather than resort to persecutions. "They shall tear each other to pieces like feral beasts," he said, "and shall give over to ignominy the name of their Teacher, far quicker than I could attain that end through the cruelest persecutions." Pascal rebuked those protagonists who "in order to weaken their adversaries disarmed the whole Church, and corrupted religion in favor of their friends and against their enemies." Brastow observed that the philosophical and theological controversies of the seventeenth century and the deistic ones of the eighteenth proved hostile to Christianity and to religion. For the game to be worth the candle, the issue should be a good one, and the fight one worth looking in upon. Whether the old contest between transubstantiation and consubstantiation was worth its price in terms of Christian unity, is scarcely debatable to the generation that could not now define the terms.

But often those evils attendant upon public debate are interred with the debaters, while lasting goods continue to bless their progeny. The old quarrels "occasioned the learned and sound in faith to explain such things as heresy went about to deprave," and the powers of men were stimulated in the work of defining principles and refining the weapons for their defence and propagation. The fruits remain, but lightly confessing the coarseness of their soil; it is well enough that we sing the *Gloria Patri*, forgetting it was once the subject of bitterest dispute, bringing banishment and persecution, whether it should be "to the Father *and* to the Son *and* to the Holy Ghost" or "to the Father *by* the Son, *in* the Holy Ghost."

My preference is for the occasional controversialist rather than the congenital and chronic. For the truly big matters are more occasional

than constant. The man who goes about looking for the next fight and who makes a reputation as a disputer, disturbs but fails to persuade me. I can take him or leave him; and my choice is to leave him as soon as I can. Dr. Peel's story described him. A man asked by another on the street, "What is your position on such and such a question?" answered, "I have not yet made up my mind, but when I do I shall be very bitter." Season in and season out these brass-bound contenders go their fussy way from argument to argument, and in each fight in turn, their hatred of the one evil is the only virtue they have. Distrusting the persuasiveness of their own example, they never say by fair actions, "Do as I do," but, descending to the dust of dispute, adopt the bigot's behavior which demands, "Think as I think." They become the self-righteous and self-appointed judges of all things, treating lightly the solemn judgment of the whole church; and in speaking of reform it is always someone else they have in mind that needs the reforming.

But your occasional controversialist is a man after my heart. Only the larger issues unseal his lips, and when he speaks you may listen with profit. Archbishop Temple may be offered as a contemporary case in point. His biographer wrote of him, "Fighting is the thing! Yes, but here is neither Don Quixote nor Falstaff. He will fight warily, take no unnecessary risks, and strike only when he is perfectly sure of striking home." And he might have added, he will usually be found on the right side of big issues, neither tilting at helpless windmills, nor with boisterous blustering covering his cowardice. He will march a steady course through countless lesser provocations, yet knows a worthy issue when he meets it in the road. Then the soul wakes, and at the enemy worthy of his steel he shouts, "Lay on, and damned be he who first cries 'hold, enough'!" Win or lose, he will make his earth a finer and more heroic abode, and the trumpets will sound for him on the other side.

DEPTH

By PAUL TILLICH

OUT of the words of Paul's letter to the Corinthians, let us concentrate on *one* verse: "The Spirit searcheth all things, even the deep things of God." (I Corinthians 2:10.) And out of this verse let us make *one* word the subject of our meditation, the word "deep."

And out of the one-hundred thirtieth Psalm, let us concentrate on *one* verse: "Out of the depth have I cried unto Thee, O God" (v.1), and let us make *one* word, the word "depth," the subject of our meditation.

Although they are derived from a spatial experience, the words deep and depth are used in our daily life, in poetry and philosophy, in the Bible and in many other religious documents, as words designating a spiritual attitude. Depth is a dimension of space, but it is at the same time the symbol for a spiritual quality. Most of our religious symbols have this character, reminding us of our finitude and our bondage to things that are visible. We are and we remain sense-beings even when we deal with things spiritual. There is, on the other hand, a great wisdom in our language. It is the embodiment of innumerable experiences of the past; and it is never by chance alone that the language chooses this and not any other visible symbol. Therefore it is often useful to find out the reason for such a choice by the collective mind of former generations. It may become of ultimate significance for us when we see what is implied in the use of such terms as "deep," "depth," "profound," with respect to our spiritual life. It may give us an impulse to strive for our own depth.

Deep, in its spiritual use, has two meanings. It is either the opposite of shallow, or it is the opposite of high. Truth is deep and not shallow. Suffering is depth and not height. Both are deep, the light of truth and the darkness of suffering. There is a depth in God and there is a depth out of which the psalmist cries to God.

Why is the truth deep and why is suffering deep and why is the same spatial symbol used for both of them? Are both deep in the same way or in different ways? These questions will guide our meditation.

I

All visible things have a surface. Surface is that side of the things which first appears to us. If we look at it we know what things *seem* to be. But if we act according to what things or persons *seem* to be we are disappointed. They act contrary to our expectation. And so we try to penetrate below the surfaces in order to learn what they really are. Why are men always seeking for truth? Because they have been disappointed with the surface, and have learned by experience that the truth which does *not* disappoint dwells below the surface, in the depth. And so they dug through one level after the other. What today seemed to be true was recognized as superficial tomorrow. We get a first impression from a person. We act accordingly and we are disappointed by his actual behavior. We pierce into a deeper level of his character and, for a time, are less disappointed; but soon he does something contrary to all our expectations and we realize that what we knew about him was still surface; and we are driven to dig deeper into his true being.

In this way science has worked: it has questioned the common assumptions which seemed to everybody to be true—to the layman as well as to the average scholar. And then the genius came and demanded to know the underlying assumptions of what seemed to be true; and they proved not to be true and, out of the depth, an earthquake occurred in science. It occurred when Copernicus questioned that our sense impressions can be the basis of our astronomy, or when Einstein questioned that there is an absolute point from which the observer can look at the motion of things. It occurred when Marx questioned that there is an intellectual and moral history independent of its economic and social basis. It occurred in the most powerful way when the first philosophers questioned what everybody had taken for granted for time immemorial — namely, "being" itself, the astounding fact underlying all facts, that there is something and not nothing. When *this* question was asked an unsurpassable depth of thought was reached.

In the light of these great and daring steps toward the deep things of our world we ought to look at ourselves and the opinions we take for granted. If we did this we should see how large a part of them is prejudice, rooted in our individual preferences or in our social surroundings. We should be shocked to notice how little in our spiritual

world is more than surface, how unable most of it is to stand a serious blow. Something very tragic tends to happen in all periods of man's spiritual life: truths, once deep and powerful, discovered by the greatest geniuses with profound suffering and incredible labor, become shallow and superficial when used in daily conversation. How can this happen? It *can* happen and it unavoidably happens, because there is no depth without the way to depth. Truth without the way to truth is dead; and if it is still used, in detachment, it contributes only to the surface of things. Look at a student who knows the contents of the hundred most important books of world history and whose spiritual life has remained as shallow as it was before or has become even more superficial. And then look at an unlearned worker who performs day by day a mechanical task and who some day, suddenly asks himself: What does it mean that I do this work? What does it mean for my life? What *is* the meaning of my life? Asking these questions this man is on his way into the depth while the other one lives on the surface, between petrified bodies brought out of the depth by some spiritual earthquake of the past. The simple worker has truth, even if he cannot answer his questions. The learned scholar has no truth although he knows all past truths.

II

Depth of thought is a part of the depth of life. Most of our life goes on at the surface. We are possessed by the routine of our daily lives in work and pleasure, in business and recreation. We are conquered by innumerable hazards, good and evil ones. We are more driven than driving. We do not stop to look above us at the height and below us at the depth. We are moving always forward, although mostly in a circle that brings us back to the former place. We move and move and never stop to dig into the depth. We talk and talk and never listen to the voices speaking to our depth and from out of our depth. We take ourselves as we appear and not as we really are. Like hit-and-run drivers, we hurt our souls by the speed with which we are moving on the surface, and then we run away and leave our bleeding soul alone. And so we miss our depth and our true life. And only if the picture we have of us breaks down completely, only when we find ourselves acting against all the expectations we had derived from this picture, only if an earthquake shakes and disrupts

the surface of our self-knowledge, are we willing to look into a deeper level of our being.

The wisdom of all ages and of all continents speaks of this road to our depth. It has been described in innumerably different ways. But all those who have tried it, mystics and priests, poets and philosophers, simple and educated people, through confession or solitary self-scrutiny, through internal or external catastrophes, through prayer or contemplation — all witness to the same experience: they were not what they believed themselves to be, even after the surface had vanished and a deeper level had appeared to them. This level *too* became surface when a still deeper level appeared, and so it happened again and again as long as they were living — *if* they kept to the road into their depth.

In our days a new form of this old way has become famous: the so-called "psychology of depth." It leads us from the surface of our self-knowledge into levels where things are recorded of which we knew nothing on the surface of our consciousness. It shows us traits of our character which contradict everything we believed we knew about ourselves. It *can* help us to find the way into our depth, although it can *not* give the final help because it cannot guide into the deepest ground of our being and of all being, the depth of life itself.

The name of this infinite and inexhaustible depth and ground of all being is God. This is what the word God means. And if this word has not much meaning for you, translate it and speak of the depth of your life and the source of your being and of your ultimate concern and of what you take seriously without any reservation. Perhaps, in order to do so, it may be necessary for you to forget everything traditional you have learned about God, even the word itself. If you know that God means the depth then you know much about him. You cannot then call yourselves atheists or unbelievers. For you cannot think and say: "There is no depth in life! Life itself is shallow. Being itself is surface." Only if you could say this in complete seriousness you would be atheists — otherwise not. For he who knows about the depth within himself knows about God.

III

We have spoken about the depth of the world and of the depth of our souls. But we are in the world only through the community of men. And we can discover our souls only through the mirror of those

who look at us. There is no depth of life without depth of the common life. In history we usually live as much on the surface as we do in our individual lives. We see our historical existence as it appears to us, not as it is. The streams of daily news, the waves of daily propaganda, the tides of conventions and sensations, keep our minds occupied. The noise of these shallow waters prevents us from listening to the sounds out of the depth, to the sounds of what really happens at the base of our social structure, in the longing hearts of the masses, in the struggling minds of those who are sensitive to historical changes. Our ears are deaf to the cries out of the social depth as they are deaf to the cries out of the depth of our soul. We leave the bleeding victims of our social system alone as we leave our bleeding souls alone after we have hurt them, without hearing their outcries in the noise of our daily lives. We believed that we were living in a period of an unavoidable progress to greater humanity. But in the depth of our social structure the forces of destruction have already gathered strength. It appeared as if human reason had conquered nature and history. But this was the surface only, while in the depth of our community the rebellion against the surface had already started. We produced ever better and ever more perfect means and tools for the life of mankind. But in the depth they had already turned into means and tools of man's self-destruction. Prophetic minds have looked into the depth decades ago. Painters expressed their feeling of the coming catastrophe by disrupting the surface of men and nature in their pictures. Poets used strange and offensive words and rhythms in order to uncover the contrast between what seemed to be and what was. Besides the psychology of depth a sociology of depth arose. But only now, only in our decade in which the most horrible social earthquake of all times has seized the whole of mankind, have the eyes of the nations been opened to the depth below them, to the truth about their historical existence. And there are still people, even in high places, who look away from this depth and who want to return to the disrupted surface as if nothing had happened. But we who know the depth of what has happened should not rest upon the level we have reached. Otherwise we might become despairing and self-despising. Let us dig still deeper into the ground of our historical life to the ultimate depth of history. The name of this infinite and inexhaustible ground of history is God. This is what the word means and to which words like Kingdom of God or divine Providence point. And if these words have not much

meaning for you, translate them and speak of the depth of history, of the ground and aim of our social life and of what you take seriously without reservation in your moral and political activities. Perhaps you should call it hope, simply hope. For if you find hope on the ground of history you are united with the great prophets who were able to look into the depth of their times, who tried to get away from it because they could not stand the horror of their visions, but who still had the strength to look into a deeper level and to discover hope. Their hope made them unashamed. And no hope will make ashamed, if it is founded not on the surface where fools cultivate vain expectations, but in the depth where those with trembling and broken hearts receive the strength of a hope which is truth.

IV

These last words lead us to the other meaning the words "deep" and "depth" have in the secular and religious language: The depth of suffering which is the door, the only door, to the depth of truth.

This is obvious: it is comfortable to live on the surface as long as it is unshaken. It is painful to break away from it and to dig into an unknown ground. It is natural that there should be a tremendous amount of resistance against it in every human being and that many pretexts should be invented to avoid the road into the depth. Confessors of former times and psychologists of recent times can tell us of desperate resistance against their guidance. The pain of looking into one's depth is too great for most people. They had rather return to the shaken and devastated surface of their former lives and thoughts. The same is true of social groups who create all kinds of ideologies and rationalizations in order to resist those who want to lead them on the road to the depth of their social existence. They would rather cover up the breaches of their surface with small repairs than to dig into the ground until the foundations are reached. Prophets of all times can tell us of the hateful resistance they provoked by their uncovering of the depths of social judgment and social hope. And who can really stand the ultimate depth, the burning fire of the ground of all being, without saying with the prophet: "Woe to me. For I am undone. For mine eyes have seen the Lord of hosts."

It is natural to try to avoid a road which brings such a depth of suffering and that we use pretexts to avoid it. One of them, a very slight one, is the assertion that deep things are sophisticated things,

beyond the understanding of an uneducated mind. But it is the mark of real depth that it is simple. If you say, "This is too profound for me, I cannot get it," you should know that nothing of real importance is too profound for anyone. Not because it is too profound but because it is too uncomfortable you shy away from it. Don't confuse the sophisticated things with the deep things. The former do not concern you ultimately, and it does not matter whether you understand them or not. The latter should concern you always, because it matters infinitely whether you are grasped by them or not.

There is a more serious question about the road to the depth that can be used as an excuse by those who want to avoid it. The depth in the religious language is often called the dwelling place of the evil forces, of the demonic powers, of death and hell. Is the road into the depth not a road into a realm controlled by these forces? Is there not an element of destructiveness and morbidity in the longing for depth? When a few weeks ago an American friend of mine expressed to a group of German refugees his admiration for the German depth, we asked ourselves whether we should accept this praise. Was this depth not the soil out of which the most demonic forces of modern history have grown? Was it not a morbid, destructive depth? Let me answer these questions with an old, beautiful myth: When the soul leaves the body it has to traverse many spheres where demonic forces rule. And only the soul which knows the right and powerful word can continue its way to the ultimate depth of the divine ground. No soul can avoid these tests. If we look at the struggle of the saints of all times, of the prophets and reformers, of the great creators in all realms, we recognize that the myth tells the truth. Everybody has to face the deep things in life. Danger is no excuse. He has to conquer the danger. He has to know the liberating word. The German people and many people in all nations have not known this word, and so they were caught by the evil forces of the depth and missed the ultimate, the saving depth.

No excuse enables us to avoid the depth of truth through the depth of suffering. And suffering it is. Whether the suffering comes from outside or whether we take it upon us as the road to the depth; whether it is chosen voluntarily as the only way to the deep things, whether it is the way of humility or of revolution, the way of the internal or the external cross, in any case it is the reversal of the way we had lived and thought before. This is the reason why Isaiah praises

Israel the servant of God in the utter depth of his suffering, why Jesus calls those blessed who are in the depth of sorrow and persecution, of hunger and thirst in body and spirit, why he demands the loss of our lives for the gain of our lives. This is the reason that two great revolutionaries, Thomas Muenzer in the sixteenth and Karl Marx in the nineteenth centuries, speak in similar words of the vocation of those who stand at the limits of humanity, in the depth of emptiness as Muenzer called it or in the depth of inhumanity as Marx called it, both speaking of the proletarians of their period and pointing to them as the bearers of a saving future.

V

As it is in our lives so it is in our thoughts. Everything is reversed! Religion and Christianity have often been accused for their irrational and paradoxical character. And, certainly, much stupidity and superstition and fanaticism was connected with them. The demand to sacrifice one's intellect is more demonic than divine. For man ceases to be man if he ceases to be intellect. But the depth of sacrifice, suffering and cross is also demanded of our thinking. Every step into the depth of thought is a breaking away from the surface of former thoughts. When this happened to men like Paul and Augustine and Luther it brought such extreme suffering that it felt like death or hell. But they accepted it as the way to the deep things in God, as the spiritual way, as the way to truth. And they expressed the truth they saw in spiritual words, that is in words contrary to all surface reasoning, but in harmony with the depth of reason which is divine. The paradoxical language of religion reveals the way to the truth as a way to the depth and therefore as a way of suffering and sacrifice. Only he who is willing to go this way, is able to understand the paradoxes of religion.

The last word I want to say about the way to the depth is itself one of these paradoxes. Its end is joy. And joy is deeper than suffering. It is the ultimate. Let me express this in the words of a man who in his passionate striving for the depth was caught by destructive forces and did not know the word to conquer them. Friedrich Nietzsche writes: "The world is deep, and deeper than the day could read. Deep is its woe. Joy deeper still than grief can be. Woe says: Hence, Go! But joys all want eternity. Want deep, profound eternity."

Eternal joy is the end of the ways of God. This is the message of

all religions: the Kingdom of God is peace and joy. This is the message of Christianity. But eternal joy is not to be reached by living on the surface. It is reached by breaking through the surface, by penetrating onto the deep things of ourselves, our world and God. At every moment in which we reach the last depth of our lives we can experience the joy that has eternity in it, the hope which cannot be destroyed and the truth on which life and world are built. For in the depth is the truth, and in the depth is the hope, and in the depth is the joy. *Amen.*

PRAYER FOR AN HOUR OF CRISIS

HEAVENLY FATHER, God both of righteousness and peace, have mercy upon the nations now engaged in bitter war. Cleanse both us and our enemies of hatred and covetousness. Make us so worthy of our cause, so steadfast in Thy strength, that no weakness may delay the victory of our arms, and no selfishness mar the righteousness of our peace through Jesus Christ, our Lord.

O Lord God, we humbly dedicate to Thee ourselves, our nation and our cause, place in Thy hands all we have and all we are and all we desire, in the name of Jesus Christ, our Lord.

(*Issued by the Archbishop of Canterbury in England*)

YOUTH AND THE ECUMENICAL MOVEMENT

By CLIFFORD T. SYMONS

THE Ecumenical Movement is the most significant movement within the Christian Church today. Youth is one of the chief avenues whereby the Spirit of God enters the life of the world. Youth must have an important place within the Ecumenical Movement, for in youth is found that life which replenishes both the world and the church. It is of the utmost importance, therefore, that some consideration should be given to the relationship of the Ecumenical Movement to youth.

One would find it difficult to conceive of two more complex subjects today than the church and youth. The rich content of the church is only now being discovered as the Ecumenical Movement endeavors to gather all the divisions of Christendom into one fellowship. A term which includes the sublime pageantry of the Eastern Orthodox Church and the mystic silence of the Quakers is truly inexhaustible in its richness and complexity. In regard to youth almost every general statement is capable of contradiction or modification. This is true of youth within the church, let alone of those who own no allegiance to it. It is possible, nevertheless, to discern some general traits and attitudes which may be claimed as characteristic of modern youth. In the following article several of these will be examined in relation to the Ecumenical Movement. While it may truly be claimed that these particularly apply to the more intelligent and progressive youth of the world, it must be remembered that it is this section which most clearly reflects and vocalizes the spirit which actuates modern youth and which determines the direction in which youth will tend to move in the future.

I

The "Wholeness" of the World. The youth of today live in a world which is vastly different from that of youth of previous generations. Formerly the outlook of most youth was bounded by their own nation or continent. Today youth have a "world-view." Countries which were only names to their grandfathers are of vital interest to them.

Nations which were the strange inhabitants of remote lands are now "near neighbors." The Second World War has greatly quickened the development of this world-view. War news is, unhappily, world news. To follow the progress of the war requires a map of the whole world. This intrusion of the world into the consciousness of youth has, however, been in progress for some time. Reform in the teaching of history and geography has meant that the history and geography of particular countries are now given a world setting. To teach the history and geography of any country out of relation to other countries and to the world as a whole gives a false perspective and ultimately is an impossibility. One might as well try to outline the physiology of the lungs out of relationship to the whole organism. Consequently these subjects now tend to treat the world as the basic unit, rather than any particular country. This finds reflection in the outlook of youth. To them the world becomes the whole of which their own country is a part.

Many other factors have assisted in the production of this "world-mindedness" of youth. The radio and the daily newspaper bring world news into even the poorest homes. The talkies and cheap magazines have world-wide circulation and carry into even the remotest villages a medley of the customs and opinions of many countries. Luxury liners have converted ocean barriers into highways of communication, while the airplane has made no place more remote than sixty hours' flight. The "natural" barriers which formerly separated nations and continents have been eliminated as significant factors in world economy. The common breakfast table holds international markets in tribute. These and many other factors have all tended to bring individual countries into closer relationships and to establish the world as the unity which underlies and incorporates all the particularisms of humanity.

In addition, many youth read a good deal. They manifest a keen desire for authentic information concerning world affairs. This particularly applies to the troubled parts of the world, e.g., India and China. Many are eager for knowledge of Russia. Even those who are not avid readers on these subjects evidence a keen interest in talks by missionaries and travellers who speak with the authority of first-hand experience. Coupled with this desire for authentic information there is suspicion of newspaper reports and pronouncements by interested governments on critical situations. Many are eager to hear "the news

behind the news." There is a deep-rooted skepticism on the part of modern youth, partly due to the fact that they have been reared in the post-war and depression years.

Another potent factor in the creation of this "world-mindedness" of youth is the influence of students who have travelled abroad for study. Such has brought them into contact with the advanced thought of the leading scholars of many nations. The result has often been that their basic prejudices and philosophies of life have been deeply challenged. There has been not merely the creation of a spirit of questioning and skepticism, but also a widening of vision and a deepening of appreciation of the traditions and heritages of other nations. On their return to their native lands they have communicated these experiences through word and life to their own people. Though numerically small in proportion to the populations of their countries, they have exerted a profound influence. The same is true of youth who have attended World Jamborees of Scouts and World Conferences of the Y.M.C.A., Y.W.C.A., World Students' Christian Federations and similar organizations. Their reports, together with their broadened outlook and quickened vision, have kindled the imagination of their friends. They have become a powerful leaven of "world-mindedness" in every nation.

So youth today tend increasingly to have a world outlook. Racial characteristics, family ties, education and social heritage keep them intensely loyal to their own nation, but their interest in the world as a whole is a vital element in their mental outlook. The world is knocking at the door of every nation today; this appeals to youth and colors their whole life. They tend to become increasingly "world-minded."

It follows from this that, if the church is to appeal to youth today, it must take account of their "world-mindedness." The church itself must be "world-minded." It must be significant, not merely as a national organization, but also as a world entity. This is where the Ecumenical Movement may greatly strengthen the church's appeal to youth. The Ecumenical Movement indicates that the church is a "World" Church whose frontiers are bounded by no nation and no race. It shows that the local church and the particular denomination are set within an order which comprehends nothing less than the world. The religious education of youth today should, therefore, include instruction in the nature and origin, work and significance of the Ecumenical Movement.

Paradoxical as it may appear at first, it is nevertheless true to say that as each church or denomination informs its youth of the nature and activities of the Ecumenical Movement and of its own place within it, its own appeal to the interest and loyalty both of its own youth and of youth outside the church will be strengthened. The work of the churches in these days would gain greatly by the provision of suitable literature on the Ecumenical Movement for dissemination among youth. Such should appeal not merely to the so-called "intellectuals" among youth, but to the rank and file who have but little training in theology and philosophy. The progress and strength of the early church was in no small measure due to the fact that, though Paul and his fellow Apostles were able to appeal to the finest intellects of their day, they were also able to translate Christianity into the language of the common people. For this they had divine example. The same is true in regard to the Franciscan Movement, the Reformation and the Evangelical Revival. It is important that the Ecumenical Movement should become, not merely a movement of the leaders of the church, but also a popular movement. Its appeal should thus be, not to a section of youth only, but to all youth, as well as it can be.

II

The "Wholeness" of Christianity. There is evident among many youth a growing impatience with denominationalism. The emphasis of youth tends to be rather upon "Christian" than upon "Anglican," "Presbyterian," "Methodist," etc. However much some may lament this, it is futile to ignore it. In some ways this emphasis upon "Christian" corresponds to youth's "world-mindedness." Even as youth are moving more and more to the conception of the world as the basic unit of geography, so they tend increasingly to the conception of "the Church," or "Christianity," as the basic concept of religion, rather than any particular denomination. There are various reasons for this, only a few of which may be considered here.

In the first place, for many youth the only thing that divides them is denominational loyalty. Bands of friends share all their activities except church attendance. They attend the same schools, they play together, walk and talk together, eat and drink together; but they do not worship together. Only this breaks up their comradeship. At the same time they are conscious that though they do not worship *to-*

gether, they worship the same God and serve the same Lord, and all claim the name of Christian. It is not surprising then that many youth experience a revulsion from the loyalties which separate them and an impatience with the divisions of the Christian church. They do not see why they should not all be one outwardly if they are already one inwardly. At the very least they desire closer co-operation and more intimate fellowship between Christians of the various denominations.

Another reason why youth tend to "sit lightly" to denominational loyalties is that they are another generation further removed from the historic occasions which led to divisions and which caused the rise of their particular denomination. They feel less and less the sense of crisis. Principles, for which their forefathers were prepared to give their lives if necessary, fade in intensity of appeal with the passage of years. Elements of the situation which were then relegated to the background return to their right perspective from the vantage ground of history. The sense of wholeness and proportion begins to press upon succeeding generations and this assumes greater meaning than isolated elements within the historic situation. Fine points of theological controversy lose their emotional ties under the increasing impact of the rich content of the whole body of Christian doctrine and tradition. They feel within this a freedom which, while it releases them from the dogmas of particular churches, yet preserves their loyalty to the church.

The same applies to Christianity and nationalism. The "world-view" of youth, coupled with their knowledge of the outstanding worth and service of Christian men and women of other nations, makes it impossible for youth finally to accept a nationalized version of the church or of the Gospel.

A great deal can be done to overcome these tendencies amongst youth by intense propaganda and systematic indoctrination. It is still possible for any church or denomination to create bigots, even as it is possible to nazify German youth. But such methods do violence both to the Christian religion and to the personalities of youth. Since this is so all such efforts can only postpone and not eliminate the day of failure. Even as youth tend more and more to be "world-minded," taking account of the wholeness and the unity of the world, so youth tend to become increasingly conscious of the wholeness and unity both of the Christian Church and of the Christian Gospel. The ap-

proach of the churches to youth is consequently along a more excellent way.

The churches and denominations will tend to win and keep the allegiance of youth largely in so far as they become incorporated within the church, that is as they become more and more closely integrated within the Ecumenical Movement. Denominational loyalty will then appear, not as a cause of division, but as a tangible and concrete expression of loyalty to the larger, all-embracing entity of which the denomination is an integral part. Each denomination must, therefore, reveal that aspect of its nature whereby it naturally widens out into the full Christian Church. Each part of the church needs to point beyond itself to the whole church and to show how it is incorporated and finds its life within the One Body. By such means it strengthens its claim upon the loyalty of its own youth and increases its power to capture the interest and allegiance of youth at present outside the church. This will become increasingly evident in succeeding generations. As the denominations "lose their lives" within the church, they will "live," so far as youth are concerned. This finds expression in the attentiveness and responsiveness of the community at large to any combined utterance or concerted action of the churches in contrast to the general apathy in relation to the utterances or activities of any individual church.

The same holds true in regard to Christian doctrine. The interest of youth is increasingly in the "wholeness" of Christian doctrine, not in particular emphases or isolated teachings. They seek a full philosophy of life. At particular times in history it has been necessary to lay special stress upon some aspect or other of the Christian message. Today the need is for the full-orbed Gospel, for a full Christian theology and philosophy. Churches and denominations have at various times stressed particular tenets as all-important, to the neglect of many other aspects of Christian doctrine. This may have been necessary in the historic situations in which they arose, but these occasions have passed. The need now is for these to broaden out until they comprehend the fullness of the Gospel. Only by so doing will they adequately meet the needs of today and gain the abiding interest and allegiance of youth.

Perhaps I may be permitted to use my own church, the Methodist Church, as an illustration in this regard. It is a mistake to think that new life will come to the Methodist Church by harking back to

Wesley and the Evangelical Revival and by laying stress *only* upon those doctrines which were specially emphasized in the days of early Methodism. Indeed, Wesley himself never confined his preaching and teaching to any such narrow basis. Though he laid particular emphasis upon several doctrines which were especially relevant to the needs of his day, these had as their background the wholeness of Christian doctrine. Study of Wesley's sermons and other writings indicates the truth of this. In the history of the Methodist Church, these particular emphases have gradually been integrated within the fullness of the Christian Gospel. Such has not been a sign of decay and degeneration but an assertion within Methodism of the fullness of the Christian heritage. This was essential if Methodism was to become, not merely a technique and a movement, but also a church in any real sense of the word.

The same applies to every church or denomination. If they are Christian they must inevitably move from special emphases to the wholeness of Christian doctrine and to the fullness of the Christian Gospel. This again makes for greater appeal to youth. Each church is then discovered, not merely as the repository of a part of Christian tradition, but as an heir of the whole Christian heritage. That full heritage is available through every church as it is incorporated within the whole church. Here, again, we see the relevance of the Ecumenical Movement in regard to youth and the churches. As the churches become vital members of the Ecumenical Movement, they become increasingly able to bring to their own youth both their own special teaching and achievements and also the wholeness of Christian doctrine and tradition. The Ecumenical Movement thus brings into the churches what might be termed a principle and spirit of inclusiveness which meets a deep need in the life of youth today.

III

The "Wholeness" of Life. A third factor which is of supreme importance is youth's concern for the wholeness of life. The day has gone by when youth will be satisfied with any merely "spiritual" gospel whose concern is strictly limited to the "soul." Youth is concerned with the full development of body, mind, and spirit in the unity of personality. Personality, rather than soul, must be the key-concept of the church in its approach to youth. A religion which sharply differentiates between body, mind, and soul and seeks to confine its message and

program to the soul may gain the allegiance of some enthusiastic youth, but it will become increasingly irrelevant to the vast majority of them. Christianity, if it is to interest youth and to gain their allegiance, must be relevant to the full personality. One value of the concept of personality is that its definition is possible only by its implication in community. It thus overcomes the false individualism of previous generations and incorporates the individual within society as a whole. The individual realizes personality only in and through community. Personality is thus of vital significance in regard to the Christian concept of the church, whose human basis is, not the individual, but a community. It is also of significance for the Christian conception of atonement, which denies the solitariness and self-sufficiency of the individual.

The first and greatest commandment given by Jesus: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy strength, and with all thy mind," indicates the concern of the Christian Gospel for the realization of all the faculties of the individual. This should be a warning to those reactionary forces which would belittle the mind of man. The intellectual capacities and achievements of man may have led to overweening pride and premature self-confidence, but the recognition of this does not require a contempt for the mind of man out of harmony with the attitude of Christ himself. Such a reactionary attitude on the part of the church or of church leaders can awaken little response in youth. No rebirth of an irrational and dogmatic fundamentalism can hope to gain more than a passing allegiance from the vast majority of youth, if it succeeds in accomplishing even that. The faith will always have to be a reasonable faith if it is to have any lasting appeal to youth. The same is true in regard to emotion. Reaction from "emotionalism" must not be such as to deprive religion of the warmth and color which only true emotion can give. With many youth the emotional life which formerly found outlet in revivalism is today seeking satisfaction in worship.

The Ecumenical Movement may help the churches to minister to youth in their concern for the wholeness of personality. Though the intellect of man may be held at a discount in some periods of church history — or among particular groups within the churches — this has not been so in the full life of the church. The "doctors" of the church as a whole can give adequate guidance to the minds of youth.

Through the Ecumenical Movement their learning may be placed at the disposal of every church and strengthen their witness to the Spirit of Truth. Likewise Christian worship takes on new meaning and provides deeper satisfaction as embodied in the rich traditions of the various churches found within the fellowship of the Ecumenical Movement.

The second great commandment: "Thou shalt love . . . thy neighbor as thyself," carries the individual, through the unity of love, beyond himself to the community. It makes Christianity vital to the wider life of society and to the critical problems of the world. Youth are deeply concerned with these. They are intensely interested in the establishment of a just social order. Modern youth are at heart as idealistic and altruistic as the youth of any previous generation. They hate injustice and undeserved suffering, squalor and poverty. They desire an order wherein these things are abolished and wherein opportunities are provided for men and women to express the creative powers they possess. The church which is not interested in the attainment of a Christian social order may therefore expect diminishing influence upon all but a small proportion of youth both within its own ranks and outside. The work of the Ecumenical Movement through its world conferences on "Life and Work" is here of outstanding value. The findings of these conferences serve as a challenge to existing social orders. They also indicate to youth the church's ability to grapple intelligently and effectively with the critical problems of society and to provide goals for the service of youth. Far too often, however, the rank and file of the churches, including youth, remain in ignorance of the work of the Ecumenical Movement in this regard. A more speedy transmission of the findings of such conferences to the common people would greatly encourage youth and hasten the day of reformation.

In the realm of international affairs the supreme problem which concerns youth is war. Though youth have shown in the Second World War courage and self-sacrifice at least equal to that of any of their forefathers, it cannot be said that the vast majority of them have either any love for war or any belief in the efficacy of war to solve international problems. For most youth war is the supreme frustration of life. The church, therefore, which would gain the interest and allegiance of youth must be relevant to the question of war and peace. It must carry within it the possibility of the abolition of

war and the establishment of a just and stable international order. Here, again, the Ecumenical Movement is relevant to the needs of youth. Apart from the findings of conferences on international problems, it witnesses to the existence of a world-wide fellowship which already makes actual among people of many nationalities the spirit of love and good will. As such it witnesses to the possibility of world brotherhood and lays the basis for a just and enduring peace. The fact that it promises no easy short-cut to these goals makes it more relevant to the realities of world problems. It comes, however, to youth as an ideal capable of accomplishment and in actual process of realization. The maintenance of Christian fellowship, even across the frontiers of warring nations, is an achievement which fires the imagination of youth. It inspires them with hope in an otherwise bleak world.

The church, through the Ecumenical Movement, may thus be rediscovered as relevant to the whole life of the individual and to the whole life of the community, social and international. Such relevance needs to be made manifest for youth, however, not merely in the World Councils of the Churches, but also in local places through combined activities and co-operative community service which are the outcome of Christian fellowship between the churches. The Ecumenical Movement will then come to have for youth a dynamic reality and will greatly aid the churches in their endeavors to capture the allegiance of youth for Christ, his Church and his Kingdom.

THE CHRISTIAN GOSPEL EMBASSY

By JOHN CLARK ARCHER

THERE are signs enough, for those who can discern them, that the end of another era in Protestant Christian missions has come. Some signs are new and some are older, but all together they furnish occasion for an unusually objective appraisal of the enterprise. This its continuation demands. It is not a matter merely of missionary "figures," such as a "statistical survey" may show, nor yet a matter altogether of the "interpretation" of purely missionary data. These are pertinent, as always; the "home" churches, for example, have recently been increasing their missionary offerings. But, along with certain tangibles, something more intangible comes into the picture nowadays in more insistent fashion than that with which Protestants have so far reckoned. At least, the need of a new reckoning with *all* the facts available confronts us.

I

During the era which has passed, the "foreign" missionary enterprise has been at best only a minority undertaking of the Christian church. It has not been at all coterminous or commensurate with the church's community and general interests and activities. It has actually met with indifference and opposition in many pews. Such is the common story of the missionary magazines of all the leading denominations for the last twelve or fourteen decades. The indifference and the opposition at the "home base" may not be justly charged to mental dullness or moral fault, for great numbers of laymen so disposed toward missions have been among the trusted leaders in community affairs. No intellectual or moral line can be drawn between missioners and non-missioners. Rather, there has been something vague and insubstantial in the very theory of missions which has not attracted and convinced a great majority of churchmen. Many of these churchmen have been interested, nevertheless, in affairs of the wide world, in discoveries and trade and acquaintance with strange peoples. Their lack of interest in missions has not been due, therefore, to lack of vision. Indeed, a distressing contradiction with respect to missions has made many of the provincial-minded advocates of foreign missions. They have urged missions often on imaginary, ideal-

istic and sentimental grounds. There has been some indefinite ratio between knowledge of the world and devotion to the Great Commission, by which the increase of one means the decrease of the other. At least, an increasing acquaintance with the world, its different peoples and its many institutions, has often reduced the zeal of the missionary-minded. This aspect should be further scrutinized.

Certain newer signs, also, must be considered, even though we may not know how persistent are the factors signified. Many of the newer signs may be circumstantial. There is, for example, an official Japanese governmental policy of control which defines Christianity not merely as "a religion," but as one of many "sects" whose activities are limited by considerations of the public welfare. It has even been affirmed by some observers that Japan has intended for some time to destroy Christianity ultimately on behalf of an expansion of its own "divine way." It is in any case apparent that the perpetuation of the spirit of Japan (this is not a reference to the military party only) means the subordination of Christianity beyond any mere separation of a Japanese Christian Church from outside association and control. Yet another sign is to be found in China, where missions have had very meager tangible returns, where statistical increase in the Christian Church has not kept pace with growth of population, and where no sure promise has yet appeared of Christianity's final, marked and revolutionary effect upon the bulk and movement of the total scene. And in India there is loud, even though it may be unimpressive, antipathy to Christian institutions on the part of many non-Christian Indians. While India holds four times as many Protestants as may be found in China, and a total forty per cent larger than that of the East Indies, Australia and the Pacific islands, peculiar public issues have recently been raised which have seriously affected Indian Christians. The general tenor incidental to an anti-British, anti-Western sentiment is anti-Christian. Indian Hindus and Moslems have, of course, their own peculiar ways and expectations, while the Indian Christians are displaying hostile restlessness. And all of this must now be reckoned with in any renewal of missionary effort by us. The outlook based on former methods is fundamentally uncertain. Then, there is the Moslem world into which Christianity has made no practical, effectual entrance. Most of the Christians in the Moslem world represent pre-Islamic communities tolerated by the Moslems when they gained political control. There is little evidence that "mission-

ary work" will yield much increase. Indeed Christianity has largely yielded to Islam, if not in numbers, then by reason of sheer inertia.

All of these horizons are filled with portents which may be confirmed from official documents and news reports. And if we think in terms of the church in these foreign fields, we must know that it has yet to think through and later to work out a theory and practice for the prosecution of its life which will be acceptable to the great *non*-Christian majorities who themselves are seeking their own welfare by what they regard as the surest means. The church abroad must determine whether it has a program commensurate with progress for the human race. This in itself represents a different point of view from that which dependence on a "home" (*e.g.*, an American) constituency has fostered. There is indeed something which both the church abroad and the church at home must recognize if Christianity is to function in the world of the future. A due exercise of the historical sense and an appreciation of the perspective it affords will disclose this "something." In fact, the new perspective which we now enjoy has established already a new era for us. This is the real occasion of our re-appraisal of the missionary enterprise, namely, that we find things falling into historical perspective, and history is leading us to newer understanding.

II

We know that the modern missionary enterprise had from the first much advantage from military conquest and international commerce. Whether or not the Cross and the flag went together, the former followed the flag, and "conversion" was frequently induced by political and economic pressure — perhaps not explicit, overt pressure, but none the less effectual. For that matter, Islam likewise benefited as it expanded. Even Buddhism enjoyed some growth through royal patronage and pronouncements. In no case was religion making its independent way. Where a religion has been altogether "on its own," its gains have been small, if compared with its increase by non-spiritual means. It has been characteristic of Christian missionary propaganda, however, to say that the gains have been the fruits of devotion and conversion, even while we have observed something otherwise on the part of Moslems, Buddhists and some others. We have condemned such pressure by non-Christians. It becomes necessary now for us to reappraise it for ourselves. We cannot condemn

such pressure by non-Christians and condone it for ourselves. Or, to put the matter yet more wholesomely and, perhaps, more cogently, some procedure must be found and recognized which makes possible the operation of religion *on its own*. And into such a scheme of things the foreign missions enterprise must fit. The enterprise must commend itself to all concerned, no matter whatever incidental and inescapable association and reliance it may have on any proper government, home or foreign. By this we mean, that missions must operate in an actual world and not in spite of it. It is a worldly enterprise, however other-worldly may be its ultimate objective. It must commend itself to governments by its spiritual character and to men of other faiths by its understanding tolerance, becoming by its tolerance a recipient of the benefits of theirs. It must find reason whereby other religions will let it operate competitively.

Perhaps the fundamental ground of missionary difficulty has been dogma. Of course, languages and institutions everywhere have posted barriers against human intercourse; but we, in our expansion, have been peculiarly doctrinal — outdone in this by Moslems only, if at all. When the Christian and the Moslem meet, it's a case of "Greek meets Greek." If dogma is so great a barrier there, this in itself might rightly lead us to some review of dogma as a missionary instrument. Or, if languages themselves loom large in men's failure to understand each other and to work together, we might find some clue to further progress by a scrutiny of *words* — for creeds are manifest in words and words have other powers of their own; how many heads have been broken over words and even over letters or a subscript! Creeds and words should unify and not divide, in any scheme of union yet to be devised. The Chinese sage, Confucius, may have indicated an effective method, when he made fundamental to an orderly society what he called the "rectification of names," meaning by it that each man, whatever his name or status, should act truly in accordance with his peculiar function, and be carefully observant of his relationships with other men. Perhaps what Confucius had in mind was after all too static and somewhat akin to the finality of birth among the Hindus as determinative of man's role in the social order. But if "rectification" be made to mean adjustment through a changing process, and "names" be held to mean free units in the total order of humanity, with emphasis on the fundamental rights of freemen, his prescription might meet our needs today. In this new

era, we seek somehow a balance and a harmony amidst the elements more effectual and real than any working plan men have yet devised.

III

By way of illustration within the range of what we have called missions, consider two current, influential "names" in use among us, viz., *ecumenical* and *indigenous*. Indigenous is a fruit of "devolution" and ecumenical is thought of as the end of evolution. The two terms may be made to represent not only the relations between a church "at home" and a church "abroad," but also the relations of Christianity with other faiths of living men. It can be seen at once that the two terms stand by their common usage in some serious *opposition* to each other. At least, in their essential meanings they are now opposed and stand in some need of "rectification." We are not, of course, discussing now mere *words*, but, rather, the issues which they represent!

We are all aware how long we have been intent on making Christianity "indigenous" in foreign parts, thus favoring the growth of a "native" Church. Now while indigenous means actually "rooted, innate, growing naturally," it means also "*not* imported"! Has there been, therefore, some fault of *trans*mission, as also of omission? But, after all, is not a *truly* indigenous Church unduly limited, provincial? Perhaps now we would correct provincialism by "ecumenics"? Ecumenical, by definition and exact usage, refers to "the inhabited world, a universal order." Are we in fact making "ecumenical" *provincial?* We are indeed applying it to "the whole *Church*," without full provision for a universal order, save *within* the church. That looks, at least, provincial. It is at once apparent that even the church has not shown and does not yet show an ecumenical liberalism and tolerance within itself.

But the more serious deficiency is that Christianity has not yet taken due account of the *whole* field of religion. This latter sort of reckoning — rectification, if you please, — is the fundamental requirement of the new era in the church's total program. There can be no other deduction from a review of history and the signs of our own times. And, we may foresee, that the church will find itself — discover its true and final function — in *such* adjustment to the changing process of men's thoughts and institutions. We need have in mind no sheer compromise, but rather a more fruitful ministry of the Chris-

tian Gospel. Such adjustment will provide a *realistic* reckoning with many powerful religions of the present day.

No superficial syncretism is here proposed, but the recognition and use of values whose roots have been long embedded here and there throughout the world wherever large communities have become domesticated. If these values, both historical and contemporary, come into clear perspective, a five-fold analysis of the total situation, with special reference to religion, might result, as follows:

1. The problems of any one religion can not be solved, nor its fortunes secured, by itself alone, but only by it in relationship with other faiths, especially with contiguous, contemporary faiths, whereby the one religion may make due application to itself of criteria which suggest and emphasize community of interest.

2. No religion has ever arisen of itself, nor has one ever lived within and of itself, especially if it has been a "missionary" faith.

3. The historic impact of any one religion upon any other has always been fragmentary, partial and usually sectarian. In fact, no religion has been in a position to associate competitively with another — or with others — until it has gathered strength and experience of its own throughout a length of years which in their turn have also inevitably taken toll of the faith's originality. Mere lapse of time alters and will alter the quality of any creed or theory.

4. No one religion with its institutions, nor any major sect of the religion, may reasonably hope wholly to displace or completely to absorb all other faiths and sects. Conversion of a special type or in a particular sense, in contrast with general alteration and adjustment, could come *only* by the annihilation of what is not itself — which amounts to the elimination of indestructibles! The "ecumenical" cannot come by the uprooting and destruction of the "indigenous." Conversion by its very definition means something other than substitution or annihilation.

5. The history of particular conversion, in the sense of a change of faiths, rather than of a transformation of the person's life, shows amply that the *primary* effect upon the "convert" has not been his acceptance of a foreign doctrine or his practice of a strange ritual. It shows that such result is incidental to a more immediate and influential motive and incentive — something more fundamentally personal, or perhaps a social benefit. Something "native, natural and human" has operated, and thereafter has determined his development.

IV

Missions in the new era will proceed in accordance with such facts as those, even though neither we nor any missionary can fully know what may be eventually in God's own providence. The final times are in his hand, as is the whole which he has planned. We are merely

reckoning realistically with lessons which are taught by history and experience. We can feel, nevertheless, that we are acting in accordance with what Jesus has himself commanded us and what St. Paul exemplified and preached.

It was not merely into the whole of a "geographical" world that Jesus would have his disciples go. There is, also, a world of culture and varied institutions. St. Paul said explicitly that he wished to impart to the gentiles what the Holy Spirit had bestowed on him, that he had no thought that he himself was above receiving at their hands, or that they had nothing to bestow. His was a spiritual mission without discrimination against any language, people or culture, and in his view there was a proper place and function for every kind of Christian of whatever heritage. Moreover the apostle's application to the gentiles of the figure of the olive-graft applies to us, also, and in some measure to the *whole realm of religion.* We are scarcely to make a purely doctrinal application of it anywhere. We have learned of deeper roots and a larger stock than those which Paul himself knew, from which Jews and Christians have found nourishment. Our world is larger far than that of Jesus or of Paul, and Christians of these days are debtors to a vastly greater bulk of folk than those of Rome and its empire. And we must grant them and their ideas place in fuller measure in our own thought, even as our future presence among them will be — or, at least, *should* be — conditioned upon their own welcome, if not indeed it does not occur at their own invitation!

The new era starts, then, with a rich inheritance and with opportunity to make the best of it by the common consent of its various custodians. No one religion will insist upon itself as the sole medium of higher thought and better living for all men; but each religion will set about making the very best of itself as the surest means of contribution to the whole. The Christian missionary may still seek to express sincere devotion to the Great Commission, and may be even more enthusiastic over it because of a clearer comprehension of his cooperative mission to make "disciples" of all men, teaching them such fundamental truths, and inspiring them to such common practice, as Jesus himself represents to Christians. "Conversion" thus would mean not mere transfers of allegiance from one religion to another, but a transformation of the thought and of the conduct of life. In the very nature of the case there would be and should be *competition* among religions, for passive accord and uniformity mean decay,

not growth; but men will rival one another in "good works" with an open, friendly mind, looking toward the welfare of the world.

Any missionary under such circumstances would be truly an "ambassador" presenting his credentials in some formal way, as he went from faith to faith, *thus* finding recognition and a welcome. Such procedure would in itself constitute a virtually new practice in inter-faith relations and would emphasize an essentially new concept of human brotherhood. Men are indeed, to use a common figure of speech, of one body and one blood, although organized in many separate units — within "bounds of habitation" which God tolerates, if indeed he has not, in a measure, set them. Being of one body does not make the foot an eye, nor the tongue a finger, nor make all members of equal "honor," but it does represent co-operation. And being of one blood does indicate the co-operative spirit. This can all be worked out, if we set ourselves to do it, if Christians take the lead, perhaps, but with leading Hindus, Moslems, Buddhists and many more besides, co-operating in matters of pure morals and religion. Many men throughout the world are more than ever before conscious of the need of common understanding and of the will to work together for the common good, proposing every now and then some political, economic or social program to that end. Missions will do something similar, but with practically exclusive emphasis on human conduct and what is good in the sight of God. Christian missions, in particular, will do this in response to what amounts practically to a new theory of things, in accord with a more practical philosophy of missions within which the "ecumenical" and the "indigenous" are reconciled, but not, however, made indiscriminate.

The issues incidental to such a theory are innumerable, but no more numerous than purely competitive issues have always been. *And* they are soluble through readjustment and reconciliation, rather than divisive through mutual antagonism. There is, at least, before us now a unique opportunity to minimize provincialism, sectarian dogmatism, any insistence on a one-language medium of revelation, any policy of the transplanting of mere forms and institutions, and any propagandist program of quick evangelism. The era which has passed has warned us against implicit faith in such. We have opportunity to experiment more hopefully under the guidance of God's Spirit with authentic values already born of many men's experience in their quest of what is true, altogether lovely and of good report.

OUR AMERICAN THEOLOGICAL HERITAGE

By HUGH THOMSON KERR, JR.

IT IS quite evident that we are witnessing a revival of interest in American history. We are becoming aware of the fact that the more we talk about fighting to preserve "the American way of life," the more necessary it is to have clear ideas as to its history and meaning. We can hardly expect to fight for the principles of democracy if we do not know something of the history of those principles in our own national development. And there are indications that, by and large, our ignorance of American history is appalling.

Some time ago, Professor Allan Nevins of Columbia University pointed out that, while twenty-six States demand some elementary or high school instruction in American history, twenty-two States require none at all. In a nation wide poll taken in June, 1942, *The New York Times* disclosed that American history is not required in 82 per cent of our colleges and universities, and that 72 per cent do not even list it as an entrance requirement. A subsequent *Times* report published in April, 1943, demonstrated the abysmal ignorance of college freshmen who had just recently been graduated from pre-college schools in which courses in American history had been taken. This becomes much more than an educational problem when we realize that those who are fighting for our national existence are not being trained in the history and meaning of that national existence. The question arises whether patriotism, in the best sense, is possible where there is little knowledge of the past. As Professor Nevins puts it: "We cannot feel that we are all Americans together unless we know how the United States came to be and grow; we cannot understand what we are fighting for unless we know how our principles developed." The time has come, therefore, when "we must re-examine the sources of our moral and spiritual strength."

I

It is at this point, the need for discovering or rediscovering the sources of our moral and spiritual strength, that our emerging na-

tional self-consciousness makes necessary a religious and theological, as well as a historical and cultural, re-examination. A revival of interest in American theology, however, will not come easily, for we have been reared in a tradition which has been expressed half seriously and half facetiously in the dictum: "Theology is created in Germany, corrected in Scotland, and corrupted in America!" Our denominational churches, as well as our theology and doctrinal standards, stem for the most part from Reformation Europe. Recent theological news analysts have concerned themselves almost exclusively with British and Continental trends, and we are led to believe that our own theological contributions are trifling and negligible.

On the other hand, significant steps have already been taken in a number of directions to revive and revitalize our American theological tradition. Books dealing with the subject have multiplied greatly in the last few years. One thinks of Richard Niebuhr's *Kingdom of God in America*, E. S. Bates' *American Faith*, and Sherwood Eddy's *The Kingdom of God and the American Dream* as three fairly recent attempts to interpret the whole American religious panorama. Professor W. W. Sweet of Chicago has made himself an authority on various aspects of our religious past, and he is now at work on a masterful trilogy, the first volume of which, *Religion in Colonial America*, has already appeared. Others have been interested in the social concern of American religious movements, and a number of good historical studies has been published. Renewed interest in types of American preaching has been stimulated by E. T. Thompson's *Changing Emphases*, which attempts to show how the pulpit reflects the times. In the realm of religious biography, a recent life of Jonathan Edwards had the honor to win the Pulitzer Prize in biographical literature, and we have lately been treated to a fine account of the life of Timothy Dwight and a first hand impression of the life and teachings of Walter Rauschenbusch. Perhaps the most significant work of all is being done at Harvard, where Perry Miller and a group of associates in the history department of the University have been undertaking the difficult but rewarding task of reinterpreting American Puritanism. These are a few of the names and books that come to mind.

II

What, it may be asked, can be expected from a study of our American theological heritage? Apart from the movement and drama of

history, apart from the obvious interrelation between religious and social or cultural life, apart from the few outstanding figures — what sort of theology does our American scene reveal? Is it mostly derivative and dogmatic, or are there flashes of insight and suggestions of innovation?

There are certain strong lines of historical and theological development which can be fairly easily traced. There is, first of all, the Puritan period running its full length from its initial strength, through decline, to its final period of comparative ineffectiveness and inevitable dissolution. There is the period of the Great Awakening and the emergence of Jonathan Edwards with his curious combination of revivalism and systematic theology. Then there is a reactionary movement which headed up in the Unitarianism of men like Channing and Parker, and this in turn was followed by an attempt at mediation on the part of Bushnell, Beecher, and Brooks. With the challenge of the Western frontier the historical and theological situation became more complicated, and the lines of development are more difficult to trace, but interest in theology went hand in hand with the consuming passion to carve an empire out of the wilderness. In fact, during this period of geographical and industrial expansion, American thinkers were at work preparing exhaustive systematic theologies which became the textbooks of whole generations of ministers. In the meantime, a remarkably strong evangelical revival swept the country under the leadership of men like Finney and Moody. Some may wonder at classifying Moody as a theologian, and yet it must not be forgotten that his evangelistic work tended toward educational interests toward the end of his life, and although, unlike Finney, he never wrote a systematic theology, it would not be denied that his preaching had behind it a definite theological character and content. Moody and his innumerable imitators have been criticized for their depreciation and lack of academic scholarship, yet others were at work at this time on textual and critical problems, and the charge that American theology was weak and slow in these matters is rendered somewhat void when the names of Briggs, Harper, Smith, and Stevens are remembered. And while not a native American, Philip Schaff nevertheless made himself the American spokesman for the theological world of historical and critical studies. In the kindred field of philosophy, Royce and especially James were constructing hypotheses which all the world took seriously, and with the development of social studies

daring prophets like Gladden and Rauschenbusch envisioned the Kingdom of God on earth. This is by no means an exhaustive analysis of our American theological heritage, but it is enough to show how variegated the past has been and what a wealth and diversity of theological minds and movements there were.

III

If the attempt is made to break down this history into certain definite theological principles or contributions which might be taken as characteristic of our American theological heritage, what will we have? In the first place, we will discover or rediscover that this land of ours was settled and populated because of certain very definite religious and theological convictions, and that the religious motivation cannot be ignored if we are to understand the beginnings of our country. This is the sort of statement upon which we were reared and it ought to go without saying. Yet in our day it has become fashionable among many writers to disparage this judgment. We are told, for example, that while a few pious souls sought religious freedom in the new world, the majority were bent on economic betterment. Sutherland Bates takes up the refrain in his *American Faith* when he speaks of the religious foundation of America as "the great American myth." Some truth, to be sure, must be allowed this debunking in so far as it is obvious that not all the settlers of early America were Puritans or even religiously devout men and women. But the fact remains that religious principles did underlie the early Colonies and found expression in political as well as cultural life. "Religion and government were the greatest concerns of the Puritan," says K. B. Murdock in his standard biography of Increase Mather. And Professor Samuel Eliot Morison has made repeated answers to the charge that religion was but a minor concern of the early settlers. It cannot be said, perhaps, that the Puritans were interested in democracy, as we understand the word, but they certainly gave impetus to its gradual growth because of their sense of public spirit and religious respect for law and order. The time has come, on the basis of much recent research, to revaluate the significance and importance of the religious background of American beginnings.

Another feature of our American theological heritage, often forgotten these days, is the fact that our educational system, of which we are so proud, was given its original incentive because of certain re-

ligious and theological assumptions. Those who founded our schools and colleges were concerned not only with secular or scientific knowledge but with religious understanding. In the definition of our early educators, knowledge takes in not only the universe but the God who created the universe. When one goes behind the history of the colleges of America — Harvard, Yale, Princeton, Columbia, Williams, nearly all of them in fact — one discovers that the original initiative was supplied by Christian men and women who thought the school should be the handmaiden of the church. The motive of the founders of Harvard — "dreading to leave an illiterate ministry to the churches when our present ministers shall lie in the dust," etc. — is often quoted in this connection. Similar quotations, not so well known, could be gathered from many sources, and those interested can consult, for example, D. G. Tewksbury's *The Founding of American Colleges and Universities Before the Civil War*, New York, 1932. This author states as his considered conclusion —

> It is a well-known fact that our colonial colleges were largely religious in origin and character, but it is not so well understood that, with the exception of a few state universities, practically all the colleges founded between the Revolution and the Civil War were organized, supported, and in most cases controlled by religious interests (p. 55).

Up to the middle of the last century, in fact, it was possible to make such a statement as the following: "It is only within the present generation that any systematic attempts have been made to establish the higher institutions of learning without the church, — and these attempts have generally been failures" (Ninth Report of the "Society for the Promotion of Collegiate and Theological Education at the West," 1852, p. 55).

This original religious impulse, however, was gradually forgotten, with the result that education became more and more secularized. In the wake of this secularization religion has either been abandoned outright or relegated to the departments of English literature or philosophy. Denominational and church-related schools, which were established to combat this situation, feel that, as specifically Christian institutions, they have a tradition and an ideal to maintain, but they find it increasingly difficult to get the financial support necessary for continuance because of the rapid growth of huge state-endowed universities. We are beginning to realize, however, that our educational development has not always been for the best, and our leading

educators are worried and dissatisfied with present standards and aims. The war has forced the colleges to reconsider their philosophy of education, and it is a hopeful sign that again and again we are hearing the voices of secular educators urging the inclusion of religious studies in the regular college curriculum.

A third feature of our American theological heritage is the social passion which has characterized our religious life. Here again gross misrepresentations have blinded us to the significance of the American conception of the relation between religion and life. Many would have us believe, for example, that our Puritan forefathers were chiefly concerned with establishing a Kingdom of God on earth, and that the attempt failed because rigid dogmatism of a theological kind encumbered all social endeavor. But this is a distorted view of Puritanism as many recent writers, not always sympathetic with Puritanism, have clearly demonstrated. Others tell us that in our more recent period under the influence of certain leading personalities, theology was divorced from social ethics and we unduly exercised ourselves with Christianizing the social order. Thus our contemporaries in Europe accuse us of "activism" and depreciate our theology as essentially pragmatic and functional. This too is an error of judgment, as any one will discover who takes the trouble to read the books of men like Gladden and Rauschenbusch. Many of their imitators, no doubt, did become sky-blue idealists; but the original social gospel in America was not, as many believe, an unevangelical or even untheological message for the times. It was still regarded as the Gospel, but it was felt that the times especially needed the social implications of that Good News.

There are many who would deny that social activism has been the leading characteristic of American theology; but even if the charge is true, it is not an unworthy emphasis. By itself, the passion for social Christianity may easily lead to one-sidedness, but so too can any theological emphasis. In the "return to theology," of which we are hearing a good deal these days, it will not be a step forward if the social passion of former years is decried, forgotten, or lightly ridiculed. Surely much of the strength of American religious history lies in the unashamed concern for life in all its aspects, and this heritage must not be repudiated.

One further feature of our American heritage is the vitality and development of theology as such. It may be that no school of theo-

logical thought originated in America, and yet each generation produced fresh insights into the older traditions and made important contributions for our own American situation. If, as Perry Miller suggests, Puritan theology was largely a matter of "Augustinian piety," when we come to Jonathan Edwards we find that traditional Calvinism was reinterpreted to meet the revival needs of the Great Awakening. "A Calvinist with something added," is what Sweet calls Edwards, and this "something" is worth investigating; for it contributed to an evangelical revival, on the one hand, and made systematic theology, on the other hand, an intellectually respectable discipline. Nor is it true that American theology has been predominantly of the traditional or conservative kind. Those who find their affinity with a more liberal type of theology would do well to study the roots of American Unitarianism in men like Theodore Parker who not only translated De Wette's critical introduction of the Old Testament into English, but was honored by having his own works translated into German. Or if this reaction seems to some as extreme in the other direction, let them turn to Bushnell who sought a reconciliation between science and religion, the supernatural and the natural, and attempted a reconstruction of the moral influence theory of the atonement in terms of vicarious sacrifice.

Theological professors today often bemoan the fact that there is no good textbook for the study of theology, assigning the reason to our American lack of interest and competency for such writing. Yet we ought not to forget that Clarke, Dabney, Hodge, Miley, Shedd, Smith, Stearns, and Strong all wrote creditable systematic theologies before the turn of the century, and while they are not much used today, and are not very usable, still they suggest that American theology is not altogether lacking in systematic construction. These theologies are often set down as dogmatic repetitions of older traditions, but they were nearly all written with the specific purpose of meeting the theological needs of their particular times. The times have changed, and we stand very much in need of new texts which can take the place of the older volumes. A striking feature of contemporary American theology is the almost complete absence of comprehensive theological textbooks covering the whole field of doctrine. There are doubtless many reasons for this: the growing tendency to specialization, the modern temper which is impatient with older formulations of doctrine, the passion to theologize *de novo*, the

ankruptcy of the textbook method, etc. But the need for contemorary systematic theologies exists, and it little becomes us to criticize hese older works until we in our day try to do what these men of nother generation did so admirably for their time.

IV

It is not the purpose of this survey to attempt any detailed estimate f the character of contemporary American theology. It will not, owever, be out of place to mention one or two features of the present ituation which give good cause for confidence in the vitality and elevancy of American theological thinking. If the religious press is ny criterion, it is safe to say that American theology has never been nore active or prolific than it is today. And the encouraging aspect f this fact lies in the variegated character of contemporary religious iterature. No one school of thought commands undivided attention. There is an evident restlessness on the part of authors and thinkers. f "activism" of a rather unrealistic social gospel kind dominated the merican scene twenty-five years ago, one can only say that the times ave changed. The Barthian corrective has not affected American hought as it has British theology, for example; yet the "crisis" vocabulary has become current coin amongst us, and Protestantism nce again is becoming self-conscious — protesting not only against apostasy and heresy but even against itself, its own theological self-confidence and denominational complacency.

Apart from the obvious maturity of recent American contributions to Biblical studies, surely one of the hopeful signs of our times, there appears to be a growing concern in the fundamental theological doctrines of the Christian faith. A few years ago the most vigorous work done in American theology was in the general field of philosophy of religion, epistemology, and kindred subjects. In point of fact, our most influential writers and teachers were more often found in the philosophy departments of our colleges and universities than in the theological departments of our seminaries. But, if one may hazard a judgment, this philosophy of religion trend seems now to have run its course and made its contribution. For one thing, we are not so much interested today in religion-in-general or in the abstract metaphysical analyses of the detached philosopher, but we are very much interested in interpreting the specifically *Christian* view of God, man, the world, history, etc. This shift of interest can be illustrated, per-

haps, in two books by Professor D. C. Macintosh of Yale, namely, *The Problem of Religious Knowledge*, which was a comprehensive analysis of religious epistemology, and *Personal Religion*, which was an attempt to recapture something of the theological vitality of early American Puritanism. It is no mere coincidence, surely, that men like Edwin Lewis, Walter M. Horton, and Reinhold Niebuhr, to mention but three names, are all taking seriously the theological tradition of our Christian faith.

One further feature of the contemporary scene is worth attention. If confessional theology, that is theology that concerns itself with the vitality of historic traditions, is in the ascendant today, it is also true that strictly denominational theology has been on the wane for some time. It is not particularly helpful, for example, to list the influential contemporary writers according to denominational affiliation, because present day theology transcends this category. One can hardly speak today of *the* Methodist, *the* Presbyterian, or *the* Baptist theology. What radical theological differences do exist are not of the denominational kind but of the kind which divide the denominations themselves into various groups. There is danger, of course, in this trend in so far as denominational traditions are lost sight of or, what may be worse, even derided. But one promising aspect of contemporary undenominational theology is that it has become definitely ecumenical in purpose and intent.

Illustrations and examples of American ecumenical theology are well enough known to readers of CHRISTENDOM, so that no survey of such is necessary at this point. The most recent instance, and one that holds great promise, is the Report of the American Theological Committee. (CHRISTENDOM, Spring, 1944, pp. 262–287.) This Committee, made up of a distinguished group of American theologians from many representative denominational bodies, was authorized by the Continuation Committee of Faith and Order, and its reports and published papers may well be regarded, as the editor of CHRISTENDOM has put it, as "the most important documents of American participation and corporate thinking in the field of Faith and Order which has occurred since the Edinburgh Conference." The significance of this Report lies in the fact that, while the conscious aim was ecumenical, the various denominations represented were given full liberty to express their own historic traditions. Thus, it became an attempt to achieve unity not by ignoring but by accepting denomina-

tional differences. We have here, accordingly, an illustration not of undenominational but of interdenominational theology.

The Report just mentioned points out that usually in the history of Christianity periods of revivalism tend to create new denominations, but that in American Church history the great revivals were of an interdenominational kind, cutting across church lines and actually fostering the spirit of unity. Let us hope, then, that our contemporary American theology with its renewed sense of the vitality of the Christian tradition and its quest for ecumenicity may also come to experience the revival of the spirit of God which alone can give power and effectiveness to our witness.

AMERICAN LUTHERANS AT THE CROSSROADS

By O. H. PANNKOKE

THE Lutheran Church of America has a richer and more varied heritage than any other Protestant communion. The Salzburgers, the Palatinates, the Saxons, the North and South Germans, the Norwegians, the Swedes, the Danes, the Finns, the Esthonians, the Lithuanians, the Latvians, the German Russians of the Crimea and the Caucasus, all are to be found in that stream of immigration which helped to make the Lutherans a great church body in this country. Practically all of these people shared in a highly developed cultural and religious life and they brought great cultural and religious traditions to America. Here these traditions were cross-fertilized by the need of developing a church in a new environment and by the rushing and varied life of our nation's rise to world power. As a result, American Lutheranism has always been infinitely varied in its religious interests and motives, in its theological method, in its ideals of worship, in its attitude toward its secular environment, and in the expressions of its piety.

At the opening of the first World War, there were nearly two dozen national Lutheran church bodies. Each had established a complete organization in all the normal functions of church life. All had built their separate systems of charitable and educational institutions and maintained their own publication houses. The Lutheran faith was preached in a dozen different languages to as many different nationalistic groups. Theologically, the positions ranged all the way from the classical orthodoxy of the seventeenth century, through the pietism of Hauge, to Martensen's faith in human culture and Harnack's critical and liberal Christianity. To a large extent, American Lutherans lived in idyllic culture islands, apart from the stream of life. The church was their center and source of guidance and inspiration, keeping fresh the rich traditions of their homelands and helping them to build a new Christian empire in free America.

During the last generation, the rapid absorption into a dynamic, urban, secular culture and the changing world situation of Luther-

nism have profoundly disturbed and wrought great changes in the eemingly settled condition of American Lutheranism as it had appeared in 1914. Today the Lutheran Church is seething and in erment. Very few if any areas of its life are at rest. The Lutheran Church of America is going through its great transition period.

This transition has been and is a process of interaction between three factors: the controlling motive of the Lutheran faith, the ever more rapid changes in the environment, and the resistance of the established order of the past — the greater because Lutheranism is essentially conservative and, compared with most of the major communions, has been strongly rural.

I

The controlling motive, the moving living power in the Lutheran Church, is the Gospel. It is the Gospel not so much as a written historical record but in the living sense of Luther: *Evangelium est promissio,* the Gospel is God's personal promise of grace in Christ. In the Gospel God speaks to man of sin and grace. Through the Gospel man meets God. The Living Word is both the heart and the power of the Lutheran faith.

The Gospel is the underlying motive in every aspect of the church's life. Theology, church organization, the active functions of the church, the church's piety and its relation to its secular environment all have their roots in and draw their power from the Living Word. The confessions themselves — basic as they may be — are not ultimate, not the constitutive factor of the Lutheran faith. That factor, the ultimate motive, is the Gospel.

The Gospel is the creative and the moulding principle in the church's life. It is that in a way similar to that in which the acorn becomes the oak. The Gospel finally becomes the acid test of every part of the church's thought and action. It shapes them in its spirit and it seeks to manifest and fulfill itself through them.

The Gospel seeks expression in every sphere of life. It is not confined to theology and the practical functions of the church. Of inner necessity it seeks to mold the whole realm of culture. It is realistic and life-directed. For a time it may be imprisoned in intellectual forms and institutional structures. It always frees itself and returns into the surging stream of life because its deepest motive is to save souls.

II

Its rapid absorption into the dynamic, urban, industrial society which developed in America after the last war has had the deepest influence on the Lutheran Church in the past generation, and has created the most disturbing and difficult problems.

It challenged the very cornerstone of the church's faith, changeless truth. During the period of cultural isolation, the church was the center of life. Especially in the conservative sections, it gradually defined its beliefs, its organization, its functions and its relation to its environment in ever greater detail. In time this static system of thought was accepted as sacred and part of God's revelation. American society, into which American Lutheranism merged, is nearly completely fluid, and accelerating change is its dominant mood. These conflicting viewpoints have brought into the church not only an intense struggle between tradition and life, but the question has become ever more urgent, What actually is the nature of the Gospel? Is it a system of abstract truth or is it God's personal call to man?

In the practical field of the general policies of the church the end of expansion in the early twenties very soon brought the issue between tradition and reality to a head. Because of the large Lutheran immigration in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the practical program of the church had been built on faith in expansion. The authority for this policy was not based on social realities but on the Scriptural outlook: "The fields are white unto the harvest — where are the laborers?" The end of expansion brought serious dislocations for a number of years and forced the adoption of the social approach in the practical functions of the church.

The use of the foreign mother tongue disappeared rapidly from the Lutheran churches after the last war. As the older generation passed the ties with the homeland have steadily grown less and made room for a thoroughly American generation. This shift has involved a serious cultural collision. It brought Lutheranism in direct conflict with the swelling tide of secularism and practical materialism. This conflict was accentuated through the declining influence of the rural and the growing importance of the urban churches. The great expansion of the Lutheran Church since the last war has been in the metropolitan cities. Urban skepticism, the speed and mobility of urban life, its functional organization and its kaleidoscopic impres-

ions have exercised a profound influence on the interest, the attitudes, and especially the practical policies of the church. Theological discussions became less urgent as practical problems multiplied. The inner organization of the church was developed. Modern methods of promotion have become current. Great changes have taken place in the effort to adjust the church's program of charity and its higher schools of learning to a new situation. Above all, the growing complexity, interrelationship, and interdependence of American society have forced on American Lutheranism a national outlook and have compelled co-operation in one field after the other.

Since the beginning of the present war, concern for the future of world Lutheranism is bringing the developments of the past decades into a single focus and forcing them to a decision. Responsibility for the future of world Lutheranism is emerging as the overshadowing obligation of American Lutherans, in the light of which every other issue needs to be judged.

As this war is unfolding with the implacability of a Greek tragedy, it appears to be leading to a great disaster for the mother church of Protestantism. There are sixty million Lutherans in continental Europe. As the result of the war, half of them may be lost to the faith. It is difficult to foresee how the Lutheran scholarship of Germany, with its world influence, can survive the persecution of Nazism and the devastation and impoverishment of the war.

A sense of divine visitation is gripping the Lutherans of America. They believe that the great revolutionary developments of the past decades have in God's inscrutable wisdom led to this moment and that this is God's moment for them.

The year 1944 promises to be a year of destiny for the Lutherans of America. They must take the lead in a world emergency greater than is faced by any other Protestant group: namely, the preservation of the Lutheran faith on continental Europe. For a generation God has been getting them ready for this moment. Grave obstacles have been overcome. Serious problems remain. Will they be solved in time?

III

Three factors have resisted the compulsion of the Gospel to adjust the outlook and the methods of the church to a changed world: the cultural heritage, the institutional structure, and the church's theological tradition.

The influence of the cultural heritage has steadily diminished. The Finns, who came to America in large numbers after 1890, still use Finnish predominantly in their church work. The use of German, Swedish, Norwegian, and Danish has become insignificant. A new generation of clergymen is in the pulpit and a new generation of members in the pews — most of them three and some four generations removed from Europe. The "heritage of the fathers" is becoming a memory instead of the central theme of life.

The cultural tradition, of course, lives on in a thousand and more characteristic traits, interests, and attitudes. Many of these are too delicate to trace to their origin. The cultural tradition lives on in the rugged individualism of Norwegian Lutherans. It lives on in the pietism of Hauge. It lives on in the cosmopolitanism of the Swedish Lutherans, in their admiration for Archbishop Söderblom, and in their sympathy for the theology of Lund. It lives on in Danish piety. It lives on in Missouri's devotion to logical order, clarity and completeness. It lives on in racial prides and prejudices. It still adds color, variety, and richness to the life of American Lutheranism. It still serves as a living bond of understanding with all the great Lutheran communions of the world.

More stubborn is the resistance to change of the institutional structure of the church. Because of the many nationalities which have contributed to Lutheran immigration, the Lutheran Church today has thirteen more or less complete and to a larger or less degree overlapping national organizations. All of them maintain the usual auxiliary organizations, departments, functions, boards, and committees. All of them have their own educational systems and charitable institutions. In the last generation these national church organizations have been modernized. They are efficient today and jealous of their permanent existence. It is doubtful, whether anywhere in the world a similar situation exists in the Christian church.

There has been a growing movement in the church to plan on a national scale, to eliminate duplication and competition and, through the National Lutheran Council, to direct functions nationally. The many overlapping church bodies have made progress in this direction slow and difficult, and they will remain an insurmountable obstacle to organic unity for years to come.

The most stubborn resistance to change has come and still comes from the church's theological tradition. The Lutheran Church is a

confessional and an intellectual church. Through years of intense doctrinal controversy certain teachings of the church have been greatly refined and doctrinal unity even in detail is considered essential to Lutheran co-operation in certain sections.

These conflicting forces and trends are stirring the Lutheran Church today to extraordinary life. Powerful motives are at work. Latent forces are gathering momentum. A new spirit is abroad in the church. Now in the shadow and under the pressure of an impending world Lutheran tragedy, the hour appears at hand when this struggle of a generation will reach its great climax.

IV

Four major and three minor issues are at the heart of the situation. The major issues concern the nature of the Gospel, the consummation of Lutheran unity, the place and program of higher education in the church, and the obligation of the church toward the social order.

In raising questions as to *the nature of the Gospel itself*, the church has arrived at the very "marrow of the bones" in its self-scrutiny. In the twenties the church modernized its organization and adopted new methods of promotion and administration. In the early thirties the social approach in formulating the church's practical program displaced the method of deducing and defining this program solely from passages of Scripture. These changes, great and difficult at times as they were, did not question or come into serious conflict with the church's theological foundations. They were primarily practical and the whole trend of the times furnished abundant concrete evidence for their adoption. It was inevitable that eventually this movement of the church to function in a dynamic culture would have to face the question as to the nature of the church's inner moving principle, the Gospel itself. That moment has now come.

Broadly four positions are represented. The tradition of the conservative portion of the church is intellectual. It accepts Aristotle's dialectics as the principle by which theological truth must be defined. It follows closely the great classical dogmaticians who developed this method to its highest point. The intellectual tradition has found its highest development and its strongest support in the Missouri Synod. However, it has been influential to a great extent in the American Lutheran Church, to some extent among the Norwegian and Swedish Lutherans, and in some seminaries in the United Lutheran Church.

The intellectual tradition is theoretical and abstract. It is interested in building comprehensive and changeless systems of truth. It has little concern for the dynamic nature of concrete life. In a period of revolutionary change it always meets with difficulties. That has happened more and more to the intellectual tradition in the Lutheran Church in the last decades.

The growing distance between theory and reality has been one factor in undermining the sanction and the authority of the intellectual tradition. Another factor has been the passive nature of an intellectual theology. It has no understanding of the supremacy of the will in a living faith and in a dynamic society. The most important factor, however, has been the growing feeling that the church is losing power in life. Mere transmission of intellectual truths, it became clear, is futile in a secular pragmatic culture thoroughly committed to an empirical view of life.

As a result of the last factor, there has developed, in the past decade, a strong subjective emphasis. This has never been absent from the church. Especially among the Danes, the Norwegians, and the Swedes, it has always held a prominent place. Even in the Missouri Synod, with its dogmatic preoccupation, there has always been a double stream of religious motivation, the Bible and the dogmatic system. The dogmatic system may at times have overwhelmed, it never superseded the Bible. The Bible is not theoretical, impersonal and abstract. It is concrete, personal, and dynamic. These elements have been gaining prominence in the religious thought of the church, modifying and undermining the intellectual tradition.

Even in the Missouri Synod the intellectual tradition seems to be fighting a losing battle. Members of the seminary faculty at St. Louis — the great theological center of the Synod — have for more than a decade been critical of extreme traditions. They have shifted their emphasis from intellectual analysis to personal application of Christian truth. They have shown increasing interest in the operation of Christian truth in life. The same fundamental change has occurred in the administrative leadership of the church. Strong independent groups in the Synod are fighting for a more evangelical view of Christian truth and for co-operation with other Lutherans. The urban clergy, under the pressure of practical problems, is becoming indifferent to abstract doctrinal statements. At present there is greater ferment in the Missouri Synod than in any other Lutheran body.

While the intellectual tradition holds the right wing and the subjective emphasis the center, the left wing is occupied by a group sympathetic with secular culture and scholarship. It is found in the United Lutheran Church and carries on the tradition of liberalism and union with other Protestant groups characteristic of the old General Synod. It is not a large group. It represents more an attitude than a system of thought or a program. The deep swift stream of the church's life in the last generation has been against it. The church has been concerned in rediscovering its own religious heritage and in streamlining its organization to meet an urban, pagan civilization. All the interests of the church have been centripetal. There has been little patience with centrifugal tendencies.

Recently the question as to the nature of the Gospel has reached its final level. Luther's view of the Word of God as God's personal call to man is being rediscovered and applied to every part of the church's faith. The National Lutheran Council is at this writing sending a pamphlet to every Lutheran pastor in the United States and Canada. This pamphlet defines the issue as a choice between Luther and Aristotle, Greek intellectualism and Christian revelation. It then sets forth in simple language Luther's living view of the Word, of conscience, of faith, of history, and Luther's organic and concrete theological method. On this basis it calls for united and heroic action in the world Lutheran emergency.

The second major issue, closely interwoven with the first, is *the question of Lutheran unity*. The impending world-Lutheran tragedy and the importance of full co-operation on the part of American Lutherans to meet it — has made this issue critical and intense. Through the development of co-operation in the last decade the issue is reduced to the utmost simplicity. With the exception of the Missouri Synod, nearly all the Lutherans are co-operating in the National Lutheran Council. Will Missouri co-operate? The issue will be settled at the next triennial convention of Missouri in June.

It is doubtful whether any Protestant group in the world faces a decision fraught with the fateful responsibility which the Missouri Synod faces at its next convention. The fate of world Lutheranism will be affected by it for decades. If Missouri decides to co-operate, it will be possible to plan and execute a single statesmanlike world program to meet the emergency. If it decides against co-operation, two programs will emerge, jeopardizing the future of Lutheranism.

Twenty-five years of steady progress toward Lutheran unity lie behind this hour of destiny for American Lutherans. During this period three major organic mergers occurred. In the Middle West the American Lutheran Conference was organized. It occupies the strategic middle ground between the United Lutheran Church and the Missouri Synod, and has worked steadily toward bringing them together. The National Lutheran Council was developed as the functional agency of two-thirds of the church. In every field of the church's life co-operative associations were established representing the various Lutheran bodies, eliminating duplication and fostering understanding, respect, and good will.

In the field of practical co-operation, complete Lutheran unity has nearly been achieved. Theological agreement and fellowship are farther away. Last June, for the first time, the faculties of all Lutheran seminaries met. It was a friendly meeting which showed unity in the evangelical center of the Lutheran faith amid divergence of approach. Organic unity is still in the distance. Theologically the method of striving for agreement has primarily been by definition in static conceptual terms. The results have been disappointing because the point of divergence lies deeper than intellectual definition. It lies in the contrast between "intellectual" and "dynamic." The many attempts to bring unity by conceptual statements have led to an incredible amount of discussion and to always further conceptual statements until today in many quarters there is a deep feeling of futility toward the whole method of agreement by conceptual definition.

The whole Lutheran union movement in its infinite complexity and resistless power has been a dynamic religious, social and cultural process. It defies imprisonment in static, intellectual, abstract terms. This truth is becoming clear and it may point the way out of the present impasse.

The third major issue concerns *higher education.* In the twenties the Lutheran colleges experienced their greatest period of expansion. In the thirties they were in the doldrums. Today the question is heard more and more frequently: "Just what is the place of the Lutheran College in the life of the church?"

In pioneer days the answer was simple: To educate ministers and to give the sons and daughters of the immigrants an opportunity for a Christian higher education. The Lutheran college in those days held

a central place in the life of the church and enjoyed the deep affection of the church people. Nothing expresses this so appealingly as the name by which Augustana College, Rock Island, Illinois, is known among pastors and people of the Augustana Synod. The name is "the heart of the synod."

What has caused the decline of devotion to the Lutheran college? In the first place, through the mass movement into higher education during the last generation, many more Lutheran young people attend non-Lutheran than Lutheran colleges. The church has developed an elaborate and efficient service of student pastors for them. As far as a Christian higher education is concerned, the Lutheran college has lost its distinctiveness.

In the second place, the Lutheran college has changed its nature. In an earlier day, through its faculty and its curriculum, it expressed fully the beliefs and the spirit of the church and it served a Christian culture. Today it is compelled to serve a secular and materialistic culture. It has been forced to a larger or less degree to adapt itself to this change. This has been the fate of all higher education.

The motivation of the students has become secular. They desire an education not "to see life under the aspect of eternity" but to earn a living. The teachers of a former day had a broad philosophical education, and many of them a theological education as well. This enabled them to teach their subjects in relation to a Christian view of life. Today teachers are subject matter specialists, hardly aware of the underlying assumptions in their own field and quite ignorant of its relationship to Christian beliefs. The greatest change has occurred in the curriculum. The classical curriculum, which for generations the church had scrutinized, tested, and transformed in its spirit, has disappeared. Its place has been taken by a curriculum controlled largely by naturalistic assumptions. To this must be added the skeptical spirit of liberalism impatient with decision and commitment even in those things which are beyond argument.

It is, of course, not true that the condition described applies equally or even fully to each Lutheran college. Moreover, since 1933, especially under the leadership of the Commission of Higher Education of the American Lutheran Conference, a great deal of work has been done to solve this problem. However, the problem is too complicated for an easy solution and the issue is only now ripening in the church.

A grave source of complication is the fact that nine different

Lutheran church bodies own and direct these colleges. In Ohio, Iowa, and Nebraska two or more are located quite close together. The church itself is rapidly drawing into functional unity and planning its course on a national scale. Secular higher education too is being developed into systems in which the individual school does not overlap and compete. It is difficult at present to plan Lutheran higher education on a larger scale. It is inevitable that this will have to be done.

An important reason for the necessity of planning Lutheran higher education on a larger scale, and as a unit, is the need of developing graduate education. This is imperative if world Lutheran leadership devolves on the Lutherans of America. The Lutheran Church of America must master modern culture in the light of the Gospel if it desires to be worthy of this responsibility. Moreover, it seems inevitable that the Lutherans of America will to a large degree have to carry on the great tradition of European Lutheran scholarship.

A great deal can be done to meet this need by reorienting the colleges in the church instead of in secular culture and by stimulating creative scholarship. Normally six hundred trained scholars teach at these institutions. At present the church does nothing to use them in scholarly research to help solve the problems confronting the church. Perhaps, seventy-five men are teaching at Lutheran seminaries. Most of their research and writing is ephemeral. There is little incentive at present for research even in questions vital to the church's life. A vast amount of ability is idle. Organization, direction, incentive, and recognition should be able to accomplish much.

The full need can be met only through graduate education. The time seems ripe for this step. Much discussion has awakened many. The church has the wealth. The project seems to be waiting only for the far visioned leader who will crystallize hopes into action. Graduate study is unquestionably the great pioneering venture ahead in Lutheran higher education.

The fourth major issue concerns *the church's obligation toward the social order*. While higher education held the center of the stage in the twenties, since the early thirties the greatest activity has been in the field of social missions. A new group of men, familiar with social service thinking and practice, entered the field. In a dozen years, they have transformed it. They have established standards of preparation for the men entering the field. They have modernized the adminis-

tration of the church's charitable work. They were the first group to achieve national organization as a function of the National Lutheran Council. This occurred in 1938. Since then they have eliminated overlapping by organizing the social missions of the church on a state basis. In this field Missouri Synod men too have co-operated freely.

Parallel with this activity, interest in the social question and in social action has steadily grown. There has been a great deal of agitation, but no statement has as yet appeared presenting a social program rooted in the Gospel and sensitive to the full tragedy of life today. Until this is done it is doubtful whether real progress will be made.

It is fundamental in the Lutheran Church to distinguish sharply between the spiritual and the secular order, redemptive love and natural law, the sphere of the church and the sphere of the state. The church's chief way of meeting the social ills is to show redemptive love toward those who are being crushed by life. On two occasions this redemptive love was kindled to a brilliant flame and accomplished miracles of healing love. The first occasion was the reorganization of charitable work during the Reformation period. The second was the Inner Mission movement under Wichern, Fliedner, and Loehe. Wichern's great speech at Wittenberg in 1848 moved the world: "Redemptive love must be the great means by which the church demonstrates its faith."

The issue at present is whether the church shall directly — instead of through the round-about way of faith and redeeming love toward the unfortunate — work for the improvement of national and international conditions. A positive answer to this question will depend on the ability to find a clear religious motive and to arouse a real social passion.

It may be possible to find the religious motive in Luther's dynamic and concrete view of history as the battle ground between God and evil, in which man is not a spectator but a participant. Through his order of creation and through the calling, God makes men responsible to serve his purposes in history. While redemption is the great central theme of history, God is the Lord and final ground of *all* historical life and in *every* field of life he desires that his purposes triumph. In this dynamic view of history a pietistic flight from life or a mystical retreat from reality is impossible. *All* of life at *all* times is God's

battlefield and his followers at all times need to be found on the side of the Lord.

The Lutheran Church is more mission-minded than socially-minded. That is the heritage of the great pioneer expansion period. Through the waves of Lutheran immigration from Europe in less than a century, fifteen thousand congregations were established and built. A vast educational system was developed. The imagination, the interest, the resources of the church were completely absorbed in the task of gathering this rich harvest of souls.

The expansion period is over. Through the philosophy of Marx and through the great social revolution of the present day, the social question is touching upon the very life of the church. It is unquestionably the issue which is as important for the church in this day as expansion was in a pioneer day. In addition to developing powerful but dormant religious motives a great deal of agitation will be required before the church at large will gain social understanding and a social passion. This issue is important. It is absorbing a great deal of interest but it still needs much hard application until it is fully clarified.

These are the major issues at present disturbing the church. It is necessary to call attention to three minor issues — minor not because they are less important but because they are not so urgent — the mechanization of the church's life, the conflict between age and youth, creative freedom or careful control, and the nature of the church's piety.

Administration has grown by leaps and bounds in the Lutheran Church. While it still lags behind the alphabetical agencies in Washington, there is a bewildering complexity of boards, committees and secretaries. The average pastor finds it difficult to keep in touch with all these activities and programs.

As a result of this mushroom growth, the nature of the church's administration has changed. It was personal and intimate. It has become impersonal, distant, and intangible. It was interested in fellowship and sought to express brotherly love. It is interested in efficiency which at times goes contrary to the dictates of love. It was spiritual. It has become steadily more mechanical. It was democratic and the initiative lay with the congregations. It is becoming authoritarian and the planning of the church's life is done more and more by the officials. The involved organization of the church is assuming

importance and gathering power foreign to the radically democratic spirit and the emphasis on faith in the Lutheran Church.

A further minor issue is the conflict between age and youth in the official leadership of the church. The years 1917–1923 were the great creative period in the Lutheran Church. It carried on what has been called the most effective service to the boys in the army and navy. It organized a far-flung reconstruction work among Lutherans in Europe. It established co-operation among divided Lutheran groups. It adopted effective methods of organization. From a divided, slow-moving group, it changed the church for a period into a dynamic, unified, vivid, resourceful spiritual power.

In part this was due to the spiritual shock of the war. In part it was due to a lack of strong official organizations. Mostly it was due to young fearless leadership. The average age of the men responsible for these developments was thirty-five.

A situation similar to that of 1917–1923 is confronting Lutherans today. It has infinitely larger promise and opportunity. The stakes are far greater. The vision, the courage, and the driving force, however, seem to be lacking. The period 1917–'18 produced some "divine fools" who saw their obligation not in terms of past littleness but of present obligations, who were not interested in what men thought *can* be done but were willing to risk all in fighting for what their conscience and their faith in the church told them *must* be done. Today — until now — in a greater tragedy, with far greater latent resources and ability, everything is still neatly under control. Youth with its greater faith, its realism, and its reckless and heroic courage has not yet demanded its chance. This moment in American Lutheran history has all the appearance of the quiet before the storm, and tension before the eve of battle. It is probable that as soon as the actual task of saving European Lutheranism begins, the vision will grow with the magnitude of the tragedy. Restrained powers will break lose under the pressure of the emergency. The church will again rise to God's call to shoulder the Cross and follow Him. Youth will be given its chance to lead the way.

The final minor issue concerns the church's piety. Normal Lutheran piety is a deep devotion to the Living Word and a faith which never grows weary of serving love in life's daily round of common tasks. Such piety is not as spectacular as Puritan reform movements nor as easily observed as Pietism with its interest in actually seeing

the evidences of the New Life. But it is deeply rooted and sincere. It puts God and his Word first. It takes religion seriously and it places upon it the hardest test to operate among commonplace tasks. As Luther says, "Therefore let the angels in heaven be undisturbed and look for Him on earth with your neighbor, father and mother, child and others." — "Do what is at hand." Lutheran piety is the piety cheerfully to follow God in every day life as pilgrims looking forward to the great day of God's complete triumph over sin.

In its deepest sense piety is the expression of the controlling religious motive in a believer's personality and life. While the Gospel of free grace is the central motive in the Lutheran Church, Lutheran piety has never been uniform. It has expressed many other motives. Among the more important are sanctification in the emphasis on the New Life in Pietism compared with a more Puritan piety of legalistic restraints. The deep cleavage in the piety of the Lutheran Church is between the piety of the United Lutheran Church and that of the midwestern church bodies. In the former the sense of distance between the Kingdom and the world, between God's grace and man's ability to save himself is not nearly as great as in the latter.

In all Lutheran bodies the religious motive has been losing force. The rise of a strong liturgical movement has marked the reaction against this phenomenon. In some instances it has progressed to the point of mysticism. A deep ontological mysticism is, of course, not foreign to Lutheran thinking. Luther lived in and drew his strength from an intimate communion with his Savior. But Luther's *unio mystica* consisted in a bond of love and not in a fusion of the human in the divine. The liturgical movement holds great promise if it will enlarge its thinking to the whole question of preserving Lutheran piety in an anti-Christian culture.

The present year is a year of destiny for the Lutherans of America. The future of world Lutheranism in the next generation depends on its decisions.

NATURAL LAW AND THE NATURE OF MAN

By PAUL RAMSEY

A UNITED FRONT for action among Christians, and between Christians and non-Christians, requires some common notion of natural law. Nevertheless, Reformation Christianity poses disturbing and deep-rooted objections to the assertion that man apprehends directly by the light of his natural reason the requirements of the moral order. These objections all arise from the Protestant understanding of human nature.

I

Indeed, this is but a special case of the rule that any ethics of tural law has its center of gravity in its special view of man. All the ajor theories of natural law reflect, and are reflected in, the interpretation of man assumed by each of them.

Medieval thinking gave natural ethical obligations an inferior ough independent place in relation to revealed law. This corresponds to the view that man's nature has to be completed by supernature, by the infusion of a superstructure of theological virtues on p of those habits of character acquired by moral activity. Later, in e Secular Natural Law theory of the seventeenth and eighteenth nturies, there emerged the doctrine that the natural rights of man ver the entire ground of morality. This implies, and is implied by, e view that man's nature does not need to be completed by any pernatural incision. Abstract rights are immediately perceptible nd self-evident to human reason, and are altogether sufficient for e perfecting of individual and social life. When in the nineteenth ntury abstract natural law gave way to the social derivation of uman rights[1] and to the historical school of jurisprudence, no bandonment of the natural as a self-sufficient moral sphere was ntailed. The appeal was from individual man to society as the earer of rights, not from the natural again to the supernatural. In e interpretation of man, the notion of the self as a simple entity to hich rights pertain as attributes inhere in a substance was aban-

doned. And it was replaced by the notion of the self as a microcosm; an "onion self" (Ibsen: *Peer Gynt*) without core, with numberless layers of internal relations connecting it with society and with the "concrete universal," in which the self must discover its rights and seek its realization. This nineteenth century picture of the relation of the objective ground of ethics ("natural law" in the broad sense) to the nature of man is not essentially altered by the conversion of idealism into contemporary naturalism, pragmatism, and process philosophy. Man is still a microcosm of his environmental macrocosm, and the moral law for man (now called his system of "values") is to be directly apprehended or pragmatically worked out in the context of the social milieu.

Liberal Protestantism is amenable to any view that affirms man's perception of objective moral requirements ("natural law" in the broad sense) to be both direct, sufficient, and basically uncorrupted; that is, it adjusts equally well to secular natural law, to the idealistic or to the naturalistic social derivation of rights; and in general follows the maxim that the latest is the best theory. But each of these views considers man as primarily "existence in relation to duty or value," and for all of them religion is the performance of one's duties *as* duties to God (Kant); one might almost say, *as if* they were duties to God. None of them conceives man as primarily "existence in relation to God." Because of this, secular and religious thought since the eighteenth century and secular thought since the Middle Ages have not been fundamentally Christian. To be Christian an ethical theory must allow its monotheism to enter vitally and with some effect into its account of the ethical duties of the individual. Contemporary neo-Reformation thought attempts to do this, and is thus led to an ambiguous acceptance and rejection of natural law.

Christian thought must move in this direction because it is impossible to return to medieval supernaturalism. The mistake of affirming that man comes at God, and that God impinges upon man, only through an easily accessible, rational moral law cannot be adequately corrected by describing man's relation to God as one by which the divine becomes incarnated as the superstructure of Christian character. This fundamental Thomistic doctrine imposes too severe a limitation of the exercise of human reason in apprehending the law for man, saying in effect that there is a *content* to morality which reason cannot grasp. Moreover, grace not only supplements nature

orality, but may correct and countermand it as well. The content of orality which is secured only by grace presses down into the natural moral realm in two respects: (a) If one has not acquired virtues of character, grace may infuse a complete set of moral virtues simultaneously with and preparatory to the infusion of the theological rtues. (b) Virtues are originally recommended by reason and acuired by practice in accord with the norm of moderation; but grace erfects the character step by step through "infused moral virtues," gifts," "fruits," and "beatitudes," so that moderation is transformed nto joyful asceticism. Thus, in Catholic thought, reason and revelaon contest the ground in supplying man with the specific content of is moral duties. If revelation has any such share in determining orality, it is evident that reason is rendered suspect from the beginning. Today it must be clearly affirmed that reason is capable of upplying *all* the specific *content* of morality; yet, for Christian ought, theism must in a different way be vital for the very works' ake. The Protestant view of man as "existing in spiritual relation to od" provides such a statement. It replaces both the humanistic octrine of man his own lawgiver and the Thomistic understanding of race as the capstone of nature. Against the former, it maintains the elevance of God, and at the same time against the latter, his otherness and transcendence: God is related to ethics by faith and not by ctual incarnation.

On the other hand, in Catholic thought reason is not suspect nough at the beginning, in that sin is not recognized as having any erious effect on the incorruptible faculty of "synderesis" or man's apacity to grasp first principles of practical conduct. It is true that homism admits that one may have prudence (the guiding practical irtue, to have which is to have all other moral virtues) and yet be ut a "prudent burglar" (whose end is evil) or merely a "prudent avigator" (whose end is a lesser, mundane good), unless one has the rientation of faith toward the Chief Good, God. It is therefore vident that, without faith, the virtues and rational morality in eneral are ultimately unavailing. Thus Thomism veers in the direction of the Protestant position. In its concrete analysis of the constituent elements of character, however, it takes premature recourse n the infused content of grace. Protestant thought can steadfastly naintain the view that, while grace does not subtly destroy rational noral criteria (as in Thomism), nevertheless faith alone can save

man from sinful employment of his own rational standards (a faith humanism does not require).

II

What, then, is the nature of man who exists in relation to God? Man is a self-conscious self; and self-consciousness is best defined as the ability of the self to transcend any self which is now its object of knowledge, or to go beyond any self which is its present condition. Man is the structure of self-transcendence according to which the transcend*ing*, know*ing*, experienc*ing* subject (the "I") always eludes itself and is *not* the self that is transcend*ed*, know*n*, experienc*ed* (the "me"). Man is the structure of "finite freedom," which is to say that although a finite creature, it is his very nature always to have the indefinite spiritual urge to go beyond any actual self he has attained. This structure of self-transcendence and freedom, while neither primarily rational nor moral, nevertheless is the *Imago Dei* in every man. It is never obliterated from any self that is a self: even in the case of insanity, wherein, as Dostoievsky's man from the Underworld remarks, people "go crazy on purpose," there is also, at least in part, an act of freedom and self-transcendence by which the self transcends itself in order to protect itself against intolerable circumstances.

Reason is not the inherent nature of such a self, but an organ in its employ. The self transcends its reason, and as a consequence transcends any natural law, rights, values, or norms which its reason may apprehend. Man's spiritual existence in relation to God means simply that the transcending self is related to a transcendent God, and Christianity is more concerned with whether the nature of this relationship is one of faith or of rebellion than with the intimations of man's relationship to an immanent Deity that may come to him according to the accounts of natural theology and a morality of natural law.

There are, therefore, two kinds of sin, and for each a corresponding type of repentance, depending on whether the self is considered as related through its rational apprehension of moral standards to the God of its law, or as related from the more fundamental level of its spiritual self-hood to a God who confronts man with the absolute either/or of faith or rebellion.

The first sin is conscious sin. This does not mean that sin is conscious wrong-doing or a deliberate turning away from the known

oral law, because strictly speaking there can be no such sin, since ery action is done *sub specie boni*. This type of sin is sin *become* nscious of itself. Sin can be conscious only in the sense that an tion done at the time *sub specie boni* is *subsequently* found not to have en truly good. Thus, one becomes aware of having sinned against hat he knew before the act and knows after the act to be the moral w; and remorseful repentance leading to self-improvement are then order.

The second is subconscious sin. This does not mean unconscious n, because to that no responsibility could be attached. Nor does bconscious sin refer primarily to the fact that error in the reason or eakness in the will or strength of the animal impulses may propel ne unawares into a violation of the natural law. This sin, which deed is the only factor in human life deserving of the name, is not ven defined in terms of the standards of morality. It is a spiritual act, nd not a moral inadequacy or violation.

Subconscious sin is *idolatry*, and the spiritual category of idolatry bins together two distinguishable but inseparable movements of the lf. When the man in Isaiah 44 cut down a tree and of one part built fire and of the other made an idol and prostrated himself before it, e simultaneously engaged in both orientations: (1) he did not know was an idol and not God, else he could not have worshiped it; and 2) he did know it was an idol, since he had made it, and warmed imself before the fire which consumed the spare wood. This indicates ne complex weaving together of conscious and unconscious elements the subconscious sin of idolatry. This, for example, is true of the n of state-worship: The sin of the Nazi, and of any excessive patriot, aries inversely (not directly) with the consciousness that one is sin- ing in exalting the nation, and yet all along one knows that the ation is not god enough to bear the devotion he gives it. In idolatry, person (1) flees from himself, tries to get utterly out of himself into is god; and yet, (2) in fleeing from himself he is nevertheless pursuing imself, because the god into which he flees from himself was made by is own hands or includes the being of the worshiper in the worshiped the folk-nation) or is somehow identical with the devotee (as in all leational or culture idolatries). In *The Sickness Unto Death* Soren Kierkegaard terms these two movements: (1) "The despair at not willing to be oneself, the despair of weakness"; and, (2) "The despair f willing despairingly to be oneself — defiance." It is evident, then,

that self-centeredness, as a continuing element in all idolatry, is essential to the definition of sin.

The originality of sin is associated with the overwhelming spiritual probability that the human spirit, in its self-transcendence and freedom, will center itself upon itself in the guise of some idol rather than live in faith. This overwhelming spiritual probability must be distinguished not only from natural or circumstantial necessity but also from the overwhelming *moral* probability that a person born into deepest poverty will succumb to immorality. It is always ideally possible for the self in transcending itself to trust God; instead, it anxiously trusts something which, because finite, seems both more and at the same time less trustworthy.

Repentance in this case, unlike the former one, cannot be subsequent to the act of sin but must be simultaneous with it; cannot be only intermittently directed toward actions now consciously known to have been in violation of the law of reason and of reason's God. Such repentance is that to which Luther referred when he wrote, in the first of his ninety-five Theses; "Our Lord and Master Jesus Christ in saying, 'Repent ye, etc.' intended that the whole life of believers should be penitence." This repentance is the orientation of the self away from itself *while* acting, away from both its righteousness and its unrighteousness, from both its idolatries and its idolatrous corrections of idolatry, from its goodness and its guilt, from both sloth and pride and its turning toward the God of the Gospel that by faith alone, in grace alone, are we saved. Such repentance is indistinguishable from faith; and in faith, as Kierkegaard says, we are transparently related to the Absolute.[2] Such faith reverses the two movements contained in idolatry, for in faith we have (1) an infinite passion to become what we are, and at the same time (2) are willing to be nothing before God; or, more moderately put, we are (1) willing to be ourselves (2) before God. It is of this level of sin and of its opposite, salvation by faith, that it is correct to say we are "simultaneously saved and sinful"; because, while in faith we are transparently related to God, it is transparent that we are also always related to him rebelliously by an interposition of ourselves between our transcend*ing* self and him.

III

Only in the light of this understanding of man's spiritual power to transcend any rationally determined ethical norm, no matter how

objective it may be, and to use such a standard either idolatrously and self-centeredly or under God in faith, can the significance of natural law for Christian ethics be rightly appraised.

Reason is completely autonomous in its own sphere, and is as independent in its pursuits as a chief organ of the creativity and sin of the human spirit can well be. Faith cannot add one iota of *content* to the moral law, save as faith renders more impartial and sensitive the employment of the reason; and any additional ethical knowledge secured thereby must be judged by the reasonable conscience alone. A Christian cannot appeal to special intuitions or revelations of the will of God which countermand the rational moral law. To suppose so was the great mistake of Soren Kierkegaard both in his personal life and in his writings. In *Fear and Trembling* Kierkegaard asks the question, "Can there be a teleological suspension of ethics?" and answers affirmatively. Abraham, he says, became the Father of Faith because he was willing to abide in his "absolute relationship to the absolute" even when this involved a religious suspension of his ethical duty toward his son, Isaac. The misconception here is his supposition that the relation of faith is one by which the content of one's obligation to God is expanded in a fashion that circumvents reason. Avoiding this absurd conclusion, Kierkegaard's point regarding the prime importance of Abraham's faith with its transcendent relevance to Abraham's ethical decisions may be retained by reconstructing the story as follows: Abraham is a garrulous old man before Isaac is born. Patriarchalism, the self-centeredness of old age, and the desire to perpetuate himself beyond the grave, blend with the Lord's promise that through Isaac Abraham will father a great nation. Abraham is unable to look Isaac straight in the eyes as an*other* to whom he is responsibly related. Instead he always looks beyond him to the vision of an abundant posterity of which he, Abraham, is the Alpha. Thus, Isaac and his posterity have become Abraham's idol, with the consequent perversion of Abraham's application of the moral law that a father should care for his son for the *son's* sake. Nothing in the relationship of faith, in his absolute duty to the absolute, can possibly have been adequate ground for Abraham's willingness to kill his son; but an absolute faith in God does require that he be willing to have Isaac taken from him! This he can do only if his faith is in God, and not idolatrously in Isaac and Isaac's posterity. Only thus is Abraham the Father of Faith, and not a

murderer, or else merely a symbol of the dawning moral consciousness that human sacrifice is wrong. Faith is important to morality, not first of all because it adds to its content, certainly not because it counters the conclusions of natural reason, but because it speaks to the problem of saving man from the sinful employment of whatever standards his reason may accept. Kierkegaard is therefore more correct when he says that a "Knight of the faith" is externally no different from a secular man;[3] and when, elsewhere, he makes the ethical a life-long task which cannot be transcended by the "religious," calling it one's "complicity with God," a relationship in which "all ethical development consists in becoming apparent before God."[4]

Another illustration may be drawn from St. Augustine. According to Augustine, a chief good of marriage is the procreation of children. This good is natural in the sense that, had Adam never fallen, the human race in Eden would nevertheless have been continued by sexual propagation and birth; but without the Fall this would have been accomplished by rational choice, the will of man setting in motion his sex organs just as now he wills the movement of his arm. As an appropriate punishment for his sin of rebellion against God, man's impulses since the Fall have become insubordinate. Sexual activity springs only from concupiscence, which sometimes to man's horror moves him when he wills not, and at other times to his regret moves not when he wills. Concupiscence, then, is an unnatural evil associated with the natural good of begetting children.

A modern Christian may disagree with Augustine as to the "natural law" in this matter. Children are a good, but so also is physical desire and sexual pleasure. It is easy in a case of illicit sexual intercourse to distinguish the sin of the act from the good of the child born from it, because the two are separated by a time interval. But it is as necessary in our analysis of the act itself to separate the natural good of pleasure and the spiritual sin of sensuality involved. Sin attaches itself to and can make use of either natural "created" good. A conventional marriage entered into by a man solely for the purpose of having heirs and perpetuating his glorious family name is idolatrous and sinful, no matter how good and natural a result of sexual union children are. Similarly, while having pleasure is *per se* a natural good, the human spirit may take up an egotistic attitude thereto, be primarily self-regarding rather than other-regarding, and, no matter

how much the other person is idolized, still remain in essentially a utilitarian attitude toward their common relationship. In other words, supposing agreement as to the natural goods of the sex life, the question of sin has not yet been touched and is of prime importance. Moreover, faith does not supplement the natural law in any respect, nor does it "suspend" ethics. In so far, however, as we live in faith, there is a "suspension" of sin, by which, having God and being sustained by God, we to that degree do not need to have the idols of sensuality or of perpetuity. The "suspension" of sin is thus relevant to ethical decision, but sin is neither defined in ethical terms nor is it constituitive of the unethical.

A Christian man is distinguished not so much by his standards as by how he uses them. The Christian applies his standards of right and wrong self-critically, bringing his ideals to bear upon himself in self-judgment. He does not employ them to congratulate himself for having them, or to defend himself in comparison with those who are so benighted as not to know such law and not to pursue such values. Jesus had the same "natural law" as Caiaphas before whom he stood for trial: "It is expedient that one man should die for the people" (John 18:14). But Caiaphas applied the law to the other person, while Jesus applied it to himself; the one used his ideals self-defensively, the other not.

Indeed, to the Christian understanding, it appears that natural law concepts themselves have throughout history been among the chief vehicles of sin. From Aristotle's view that some men are "naturally" slaves, through John Knox's objection to the "Monstrous Regimen of Women" as "repugnant to nature, contumely to God" . . . "subversive of good order, and of all equity and justice," down to the modern objection to woman's suffrage as "unnatural" and the continuing Catholic case against birth control, the certainties of "natural law" have been heightened to an indeterminable degree in order to provide protective covering for special privilege. This a Christian analysis must allow without lapsing into ethical cynicism. It is true, of course, that radical revolutionary as well as conservative use has been made of natural law notions. Men have often appealed to natural law in order to justify disobedience to the existing order. But no satisfactory rehabilitation of natural law can be given by merely balancing its radical and conservative expressions against each other. The history of ethics may, indeed, warrant a verdict in one or

the other of these directions, but this conclusion would be merely a statistical law and have only enumerative value. The course of future ethical decision cannot be drawn from such a generalization, but must be produced by the men who in faith face each issue as it arises. The primary reason a Christian analysis admits the sinful use of the law without falling into ethical cynicism is that, while affirming that faith is addressed to this fundamental problem, it also at the same time endorses to the full the use of reason in determining the content of such decisions. It knows that the obvious sin of conservative self-defensiveness is but a crystallization at a later stage of the less obvious dynamic exaggeration of radical contention. The fact that in either case sin may ideally be overcome by faith does not remove the responsibility resting upon every man to determine the specific demands of the moral law in his situation, and to co-operate with like-minded men for social action. In sin man is under God condemned, and in faith he is saved, by the "law of Christ," i.e. by the confident abandonment of self which alone may ideally sustain the impartiality requisite for obedience to God through moral law apprehended by reason.

The notion that a moderation of the extreme demands of "absolute natural law" into a "relative natural law" (which is at once easier to achieve and less subject to the danger of anarchy if sinful men try to realize it) is an adequate adjustment to the fallen condition of human life rests upon a misunderstanding of sin and of the Fall-myth. If we may believe with Schelling that "mythology has no reality outside of consciousness,"[5] then the Fall is not an historical epoch, and sin is as true of the consciousness which apprehends relative as of the consciousness which apprehends absolute natural law. It characterizes action under either type of law. A certain restraint upon Utopianism is, in view of sin, doubtless necessary; but a frontal adjustment of moralism to sin would sooner or later require the abandonment of any and all moral standards in the face of the perversion thereof and of man's failure to live up even to the relative law. It is faith, not relative natural law, which is apposite to sin; and as such faith is relevant to ethical decision under any law.

Emil Brunner is correct in affirming that the "relative Law of Nature is not a law at all, but only a *regulative principle*, from which no definite demands can be deduced," that it "simply expresses the necessity (which cannot be expressed in legal terms) of adapting the

absolute Law of Nature to sinful reality," and that, therefore, it really means "absence of principle."[6] Its content is not truly derived through step by step accommodation from a revealed or an intuitively grasped absolute natural law, but is given by rational interpretation and practical adjustment to the concrete facts of existence. Indeed, there is no impartial perception of an absolute natural law from which such specific norms might be derived, since "in a sinful humanity" one may ask, "Are there any 'impartial' people at all?" The Christian natural law of the Catholic conception does not exist in human knowledge. Nevertheless, there is a Christian law of "Creation," which differs from the former in that this Creation is known, not naturally, but from the point of view of Redemption. "Faith and revelation must come to the assistance of reason in order to discover what is truly rational," so that "this 'natural' knowledge is only present where reason has been illuminated by faith."[7] Nevertheless, Christian ethical theory must also clearly affirm, what the use of traditional terminology by Brunner and other writers often obscures, that the assistance which faith provides consists not at all in either countermanding or in supplementing the content of reason, but lies entirely in the suspension of sin and in sustaining the agent's impartiality. This is the sense in which "revelation" is an event and not a system of propositions. It is the "this-applies-to-me" aspect of moral knowledge.

Faith saves man from bondage to the law and saves him to its fulfillment. It saves the law itself both from the idolatrous legalism of the sinful conservative (who imagines that all sin is in the teeth of the law rather than against God); from the Utopian rebellion of the sinful radical (who corrects the former idolatry idolatrously); from the antinomianism of the sinful cynic (who is driven to relativity by the critical character of his decision as to what God requires through the moral law); and from the antinomianism of the sinful saint (who thinks that because all sin is primarily against God, God is to be obeyed only in spirit rather than through his creature, the moral law). In faith the Christian is bound yet not bound to the law.

IV

Parallel to (1) sin as subconscious idolatry, and to (2) sin as the violation of some consciously entertained moral norm, there are two ways of expressing the obligation of obedience to God which impinges

upon all men. The Christian has "one Lord, one motive, but two kinds of Command." [8]

As existing in spiritual relationship to God, man is (1) "absolutely related to the absolute." [9] In this absolute obligation, the law of Christ, the divine *Agapé*, the perfection of the Father, are simultaneously one's duty, condemnation, and salvation. God absolutely confronting man is either Judgment or Mercy to him, Law or Gospel, according as man's spirit is idolatrous or living in faith. "Be therefore all including (in your good will), even as your heavenly Father includes all" (Matthew 5:48). [10] Or, what is the same thing, be ye therefore completely self-giving in any one case of your good-will, even as God was in Christ. Such would be the perfection of faith.

As a spirit possessing the rational power to direct his ethical decisions in accordance with the conditions of human welfare, man is (2) related, though not absolutely, to the absolute. This is not the absolute obligation of the Christian, because he knows that there is a "law in his members," i.e. sin in his spirit, which, in transcending, sinfully employs his rational determinations of the moral law. Nevertheless, man vis-à-vis his fellows is not obligated simply by his moral norms or by the conditions of social welfare, but also thereby he is obligated *to God*, because it is only through moral achievement that faith in the spirit can embody itself in specific content. Christian response to God, thus, includes all things human.

Christian decision, however, does not wait until absolute certainty is secured in moral philosophy or in casuistry. Therefore, another way of phrasing the Christian's obligation on the plane of rational and social morality is to say that there he is (2) absolutely related to the relative. The Christian ethic doubtless has a considerable stake in answering the philosophical question concerning the degree to which objectivity or relativity enter into rational moral principles. But Christian ethics can admit relativity in what it knows about the moral law to a degree that is scarcely possible for philosophical ethics without falling into cynicism or inaction. The Christian is absolutely bound to do that which he thinks is just and right, though this opinion is admittedly conceived both in ignorance and in sin. If there are Christians, e.g. in Japan today, whom reason purified by faith leads to contrary decisions from those of equally reasonable persons elsewhere, both can act in faith with a vigor that is not threatened by the knowledge of each other's existence; though men of faith and re-

pentance, without withdrawing from decisive action, do receive other existing persons and their opinions as corrective to the idolatrous element in their own subjective certitude. This is possible because the faith in which each party acts is not fixed ultimately in morality as such, but rather, every ethical decision is made in another faith; and because the character of the ultimate object of this faith is such as to be corrective of the tendency sinfully to absolutize our principles of justice simply because they are ours. Christian action often entails ignorant decision proceeding from what is nevertheless one's best knowledge of the good, and always entails sinful action in accord with knowledge incompletely purged by confession; it definitely excludes the abandonment of one's relative truths for none at all.

What is humanly good is a "creature" of God, and not God himself. Through it, a Christian man is related, though not as absolutely as in sin and faith, to the absolute; through it, also, he is absolutely related to the relative, whether that relativity be mere lack of knowledge (in which case he ought to act by the best he knows) or whether it be the relativity which comes from the sinful self-predetermination of his degree of moral certitude (in which case he ought to "sin bravely" but repentantly, in the hope that he will be corrected and in the faith that he is mercifully forgiven).

Seen in this perspective, the co-operation of the Christian with the non-Christian on common-front humanitarian questions is imperative upon the Christian. This co-operation, indeed, but exteriorizes the problem the Christian has of uniting within himself the man of faith and the sinner in any vigorous individual decision. The only difference is that in the latter case, since he is both, the Christian knows who is the sinner and who is of the faith; whereas, in the former, upon whom the spirit of Christ has come is by no means so certain.

REFERENCES

(1) *See* T. H. Green's *Lectures on the Principles of Political Obligation.*
(2) *The Sickness Unto Death,* pp. 132, 216.
(3) *Fear and Trembling,* p. 49.
(4) *Concluding Unscientific Postscript,* pp. 138, 141.
(5) *Works,* II, I, 124.
(6) *The Divine Imperative,* Note 8 to p. 269, *Notes and Appendices,* pp. 629–630.
(7) *Ibid.,* p. 631.
(8) *Ibid.,* Note 7 to p. 226, *Notes and Appendices,* p. 620.
(9) Soren Kierkegaard: *Fear and Trembling,* pp. 147, 171, 182, *et passim.*
(10) C. C. Torrey: *The Four Gospels: A New Translation.*

CONTEMPORARY BOOKS

A MANIFESTO OF SHARED CONVICTIONS

THE VITALITY OF THE CHRISTIAN TRADITION, *edited by* GEORGE F. THOMAS. *Harper & Brothers, $3.00.*

THIS BOOK is extremely important in two quite different ways: it is a group manifesto which announces a common conviction concerning the truth and relevance of the Christian tradition for our life, and it is a very clear and readable and surprisingly adequate presentation of the content of the Christian tradition. The authors and the editor have performed a miracle of condensation without being dull. Their book is good both for the general reader and for use as a textbook. Even the specialist will enjoy it because in a number of cases he will find familiar ideas expressed with cogency and balance which are unfamiliar. Examples of this are James Muilenburg's summary of the Old Testament conception of man (pp. 18–21), John Knox's discussion of the historical significance of Jesus (pp. 43–49), Albert Outler's evaluation of classical Protestantism (pp. 139–149), Amos Wilder's discussion of the status of the Bible for contemporary culture (pp. 212–221), and George Thomas' discussion of the relationship of Christianity to monism, dualism and pluralism (pp. 258–262). Lynn White's sketch of Mediaeval Christianity will come as a great illumination to most readers. Students of the Patristic period may be surprised that anyone could write so concise and yet so intelligible an account of the early centuries of the church as Virginia Corwin has done.

I began by speaking of this volume as a manifesto. That word will doubtless shock the authors, because no book could be more correct in its academic sobriety. I might compare it with such volumes as *Essays and Reviews* or *Lux Mundi* which, in other periods, have expressed convictions shared by groups of thinkers, convictions which had momentous significance because they marked a new stage in the thinking of the church or at least of the progressive wing of the church. The conviction which this book embodies is that Christianity as an historical religion is not only the most creative factor in our culture but also the supreme carrier of religious truth for us. Christianity is not a philosophy of life which we make up out of ideas that we choose to suit ourselves, but a given historical movement of which Christ is the center. It is the chief source of revelation. This tradition has much more unity than appears on the surface. The extremely good chapters on the Old and New Testaments and on four periods of Christian history form the best introduction to Christianity as an historical movement

with which I am familiar. It is not news to have people in the church speak about the truth and importance of the Christian tradition, but the authors of this book do this with the accent of a fresh discovery. They are not repeating old formulae, defending the faith once for all delivered to the saints because it is the expected thing. They are aware of all the difficulties. Some of them have participated in the modern movements which at one time, for so large a part of our generation, took the place of the Christian tradition. They are all convinced that the health of our democracy and the possibility of saving our culture from disaster depend upon the restoration of Christian faith to a central place.

It is not surprising that there are gaps in the presentation of the Christian tradition. Post-Tridentine Catholicism and Eastern Orthodoxy are ignored. There is very little attention given to the inside of contemporary theology. The theologians write history and the constructive chapters are written by philosophers, but by philosophers who believe in the importance of the Christian tradition for thought. Also, there is no adequate presentation of the modern social impulse in the church. A brief history of Christian ethics by Professor John Moore furnishes a good background for a presentation of contemporary Social Christianity. Professor Thomas' discussion of Christianity and democracy and Professor Van Dusen's pages about the ecumenical church help to fill this gap. There is a characteristic essay by Douglas Steere on devotional literature which is an excellent syllabus for a course on the subject; but it left me wondering why the devotional life of the Christian must be detached so much from his responsibility in history. The fact that the devotional literature of the church is written so largely by mystics when Christianity is not essentially a mystical but rather a prophetic religion is a problem that is not often recognized. Professor Steere in his own person, like John Woolman whose *Journal* he recommends, combines the mystical and the prophetic interests; but this chapter fails to do so.

The constructive chapters, as I have said, are written by philosophers or, as in one case, by a psychologist. They deal with the relationship of Christianity to modern philosophy, science, and culture. Professor Thomas deals with the relationship between faith and reason and develops a Christian philosophy which resembles that of Archbishop Temple though it lacks part of the latter's orthodox superstructure. Howard Jefferson and Ernest Hilgard show the limitations of science and leave open a clear road for faith and theology. This does not suggest a Kantian dualism between science and faith but the possibility of an inclusive structure of thought in which faith is fundamental but in which the results of scientific investigation and the importance of the scientific method are fully recognized.

All of these writers belong to what may become the theological center in America. They have come up through liberalism and in some cases ex-

tremely left-wing liberalism if not humanism. The majority of them are thinkers who deal with the frontier of Christianity and secular thought. Only half inhabit theological seminaries. The book itself embodies one of the two most important convictions to be associated with the critics of liberalism. The first of those convictions — emphasis upon the universality and depth of sin in Augustinian terms — is not characteristic of the book though naïve optimism or utopianism is not present; but the second, the belief in the authority of the Christian tradition as the source of revelation, pervades the whole book.

JOHN C. BENNETT

HIGH PRAYER

A PREFACE TO PRAYER, *by* GERALD HEARD. *Harper & Brothers, $2.00.*

MR. HEARD tells us that there is no good manual of prayer as a complete process written by any Protestant; therefore we must go to Catholic and non-Christian authorities. To say nothing of our native authors, this is a rather ungenerous judgment upon two modern works by members of the Protestant Faculty of Theology in Strasbourg: *La Problème de la Prière* by Ménégoz, and the monumental three volumes of *Le Culte* by Robert Will. Heiler's book on *Prayer* belongs, perhaps, to an ecclesiastical mid-world. Furthermore, if the truth be told, much of what Mr. Heard is saying is of necessity covered by countless recent studies in mysticism, Miss Evelyn Underhill's book on that subject being the most familiar.

However, our author brings to a consideration of his theme a fresh and first-hand analysis. Plainly sincere experiment and much experience lie behind these pages. Perhaps the most striking thing about the book is the newly minted terminology, which appears at the outset and is consistently employed thereafter. The total field is divided into Low Prayer, Middle Prayer, High Prayer. Mr. Heard would not suggest for a moment that the facts which warrant his distinction are of his own discovery. They have long been familiar. Low Prayer is petition for oneself, in the first instance for the individual self and then for the tribal self. In its primitive forms it is little more than would-be magic. Middle Prayer is intercession for others, and he who so prays is aware of human beings in communion, as members one of another. High Prayer is the selfless ascent of the soul to God, "a technique for contacting and learning to know Reality." This *scala perfectionis*, with the disciplines it requires, is a familiar pattern in classical mysticism. Low Prayer and Middle Prayer are not disallowed, but are preliminary to the final stage. Heiler makes a similar distinction: Low Prayer and Middle Prayer would be classified as "Prophetism"; High Prayer as "Mysticism." The latter stage has, of course, always been known as "Orison."

Our author seems to despair of run-of-the-mill Protestantism. In such circles religion and prayer have given place to physics and economics. The decline of prayer among us is due in no small part to our habit of confining prayer to the first two stages, and this limitation of the transaction leaves in its wake the discouraging riddle of unanswered prayer. The answer is to be found not in more intense supplication at the lower levels but in an ascent to the highest level. Nor does Mr. Heard find much light thrown on the subject from conventional Catholic sources, such as Loyola's *Spiritual Exercises*: indeed, Ignatius is dismissed as "a religious tough if there ever was one." Therefore he seeks guidance and companionship from the older Catholic mystics, as well as from Mahayana Buddhism and the Hinduism of the Vedantas. In such circles "highly developed consciousness wearies of the acutely undeveloped ego." Here we find the prayer of one who has come to the point where he says, with Matthew Arnold,

> Weary of myself, and sick of asking
> What I am, and what I ought to be.

This is a very modern and very widespread mood. Mr. Heard presupposes it and speaks directly to it.

The significant thing about the book is its essentially Eastern, rather than Western, temper. Our author seems to think that the church made an almost fatal error when it disallowed Marcion and his canon. He attributes the rejection of the Marcionite canon — a Christian Bible without the Old Testament — to the cowardice of ecclesiastical authorities who wanted success with the masses, and to the assumption that God the Father of Jesus Christ could not have been "the bloodthirsty Yahweh of the Semites." This bit of critical anti-Semitism is rather wide of the mark. The real question was whether God the Creator was the Father of Christ, i.e., whether creation and history are a revelation of God. But, since the church kept the Old Testament, we have been burdened ever since with a freight of prophetic prayer, at the expense of mystical prayer. Had the church accepted Marcion and his canon that choice would have been the pass through which mysticism might have occupied Christianity. The true Bible of the world would then be a rigidly censored New Testament, plus the scriptures of Vedanta, Buddhism, Jainism and Taoism; and the community which it served would be the true Church Universal. As it is we are still cumbered with what Carlyle once called "Hebrew old clothes." Even the best of the Psalms do not escape this indictment, for at their best they succeed only in "congratulating God" on his perfection — an anthropomorphic God revealed in a Scriptures "tragically narrow and rigid in its conception of inspiration."

Mr. Heard's book is timely for two reasons. It is a thoroughgoing chal-

lenge to that particular type of modern neo-orthodoxy which casts its lo with time to the exclusion of all that is meant by eternity. Mr. Heard is no over-impressed with the strain of what von Hügel calls "happendness" i the Jewish-Christian tradition. He would not have us put all our spiritua treasures in the keeping of the time-process as manifest in history. Further more, if East and West are ever to meet — and the spiritual unity of th world would seem to require some such meeting — full recognition mus be given to the selfless, timeless love of God proposed by Neo-Platoni mysticism and the purified religions of the Orient. The gulf between Proph etism and Mysticism, the lower forms and the highest form of prayer, is still culturally wide. Mr. Heard does not despair of bridging it.

W. L. Sperry

PERFECT LOVE

The Path to Perfection, *by* W. E. Sangster. *Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, $2.00.*

DR. SANGSTER, pastor of Central Hall, Westminster, London, ha turned his scholarly study of John Wesley's doctrine of perfection into a pointed, lucid, and immensely satisfying contribution to contempo rary thinking about the Christian life. He tells of writing during the blitz "When the last incendiary had been put out and the last group of homeles people received and made welcome, I filled the hours of the vigil which hac still to be kept by thinking on perfection. . . . It was part of the way in which I kept sane." The product of his meditations has the ring of reality in it. With a remarkable union of evangelical fervor and critical insight he has analyzed and restated the Wesleyan conception of holiness.

John Wesley taught, preached, and agonized over the doctrine that in this life certain Christians are vouchsafed an experience of perfect love for God. All sin is "ripped out" of the soul. Wesley never claimed the ex perience for himself; but he believed that many realized it, and pointed to numerous of his followers as examples. Insisting upon the Scriptural and doctrinal validity of the teaching, he affirmed it against the emphasis on sin in the Reformation theologies. Some have seen in the doctrine a synthesis o Catholic and Protestant conceptions of sanctification. The belief in per fection was a center of controversy from the beginning. Wesley explained defended, and interpreted his position without surrender in spite of the obvious aberrations with which it was inevitably connected.

Dr. Sangster aims first to show exactly what Wesley taught and the grounds upon which he held his belief. He defined sin as conscious trans gression of a known law. He conceived human life, not wholly atomistically but yet as a stream of moment by moment experiences. By perfection he meant "indwelling love, banishing all conscious sin, received by faith in ar

instant, and maintained from moment to moment by humble dependence on God." Thus the author summarizes the doctrine. The emphasis on the moment is basic; for the state of perfection might be lost according to Wesley. The doctrine was supported primarily by reliance upon thirty Biblical texts.

It would be easy for a critic to discard it as an eccentricity, supported merely by a Biblical literalism; but Sangster's scholarship is more profound. He admits the limitations of Wesley's use of the Bible; but he looks beneath the forms of thought to see what it was Wesley was really trying to preserve in the Christian life. He concludes that the insistence on the possibility of holiness and the refusal to set limits to what God may accomplish in the soul are not to be lightly set aside.

The discussion moves on to analysis of the psychological presuppositions underlying the perfectionist teaching. Sangster makes full use of modern psychological knowledge in appraising the doctrine. He points out that by making a sharp distinction between conscious and unconscious levels of the mind it is possible to envision a freedom from consciousness of sin; but this is to forget the large area between the conscious and unconscious mind where man's responsibility cannot be wholly disavowed.

The discussion of the soul's struggle with God's love is an admirable example of Christian psychological analysis. Sangster makes use of secular psychology; but he includes in his view of man the distinctive Christian presuppositions of sin and grace and freedom. In addition he possesses a large measure of sensitive understanding of the human heart. He knows man's capacity for self-deception; and with frequent humor he vividly describes the ignominious collapse of many claims to the possession of perfection.

In spite of the difficulties he believes that the teaching of Wesley can be reconstructed in a form which is valid for the Christian life. He renames the limit of holiness "perfect love." There is a negative aspect of his reconstruction, for he rests the case with the impossibility of our setting limits to what God might accomplish in an individual soul, and he explicitly says that no sensitive Christian today will say "I am freed from all sin."

When he urges an emphasis upon holiness in the Christian life he does not forget our involvement in social evil. He charges past advocates of perfection with withdrawing into a "mental monastery" so far as social injustice is concerned. But he holds that love will seek to do the best which can be done in the relativities of a given situation. One who has assessed the justice of his nation's cause, for example, and has concluded that military victory is necessary for the sake of humanity can fight with love.

Just here, of course, the difficulties are greatest. Sangster tries to state the Christian idea in a way which puts the Christian spirit in some sense above

moral tension. In doing so, one must ask, has he acknowledged the element of personal sin in our collective behavior? For example, does any Englishman, or German, or American, assess the justice of his nation's cause with perfect objectivity? And is there not an element of personal guilt in our collective pride? For those who take a less optimistic view of human nature than Sangster's, his final plea for an emphasis on holiness will exemplify the pietist error of exalting holiness above repentance. Yet he has stated his position with utmost care; and it must be admitted that an emphasis on man's sinfulness is subject to its own evil effects. Anyone who is trying to understand what is possible for the Christian today will ponder this book and be grateful for it.

DANIEL D. WILLIAMS

GOD'S GAMBLERS

THIRTEEN AGAINST THE ODDS, *by* EDWIN R. EMBREE. *The Viking Press, $2.75.*

WHAT dozen living Negroes have most successfully "broken the barriers that hedge the marginal man?" Embree asked that question of a selected panel of 200 persons, Negro and white. Thirteen names stood out above the others in the results of the polling, and with amazingly revelatory succinctness, the President of the Julius Rosenwald Fund tells the lives of these top Negro Americans.

He treats them not merely as Negroes, but — which is quite in order — as Americans giving expression to the genuine American ideal of success against the odds. There is no sentimentalizing, no patronizing, no glorification in these essentially human and direct biographical sketches. There needs to be no such exaggerated device, for the stark record of achievement in the face of American odds makes a story of consuming interest. (I had to use threats and intimidation to get the book away from my wife long enough to permit reading it for this review.)

Embree shows how these thirteen became what they are and got where they are, not in generalities, but in rich detail of episode and incident which will supply the hungry maw of many a homiletical appetite for months to come. Portraits of all thirteen are included to complete the word pictures.

Gambling against the odds of discrimination and injustice, two women and eleven men have enriched American life and added justification to the Christian faith that all people are children of one God — and deserve to be treated as such. There is not a pulpit in the land but will be stronger if illustrations are drawn from this book. There is not a school or college but will be more effective educationally when its students and teachers know these pages well. Even the United States Senate might benefit if by some miracle the Man Bilbo could be induced to read it. Instead of wanting to

send all Negroes to Africa he might at long last see how his whole life is dedicated to fighting against God when he loads the dice against non-white peoples.

The chapter headings tell you what to expect in this eminently fair and unbiased volume: Mary McLeod Bethune — Amazon of God; Richard Wright — Native Son; Charles S. Johnson — A Scholar and a Gentleman; Walter White — Little David; George Washington Carver — Sweet Potato Wizard; Langston Hughes — Shakespeare in Harlem; Marian Anderson — Deep River of Song; W. E. B. DuBois — Elder Statesman; Mordecai W. Johnson — Lord High Chancellor; William Grant Still — Music Maker; A. Philip Randolph — Saint Philip of the Pullman Porters; Joe Louis — Champion of the World; Paul Robeson — Voice of Freedom. Read the book and meet the people.

BUELL G. GALLAGHER

CHRISTIAN EXPANSION ON TWO CONTINENTS

THE GREAT CENTURY IN NORTHERN AFRICA AND IN ASIA, *by* KENNETH SCOTT LATOURETTE. *Harper & Brothers, $4.00.*

THIS is Dr. Latourette's third volume dealing with the period 1800–1914 — the century of the greatest expansion in Christian history, in his opinion. It is Volume VI, next to the last in Dr. Latourette's massive scheme for writing the *History of the Expansion of Christianity*. The concluding volume will take up the account from the year 1914 and carry it down to the present.

This volume deals with the history of the Christian movement on the Northern shores of Africa, in the Near East and in India, China, Korea and Japan. The author gives in each case a brief characterization of the area being considered and enough of the political and cultural situation to form a background for the account. This is followed by a discussion first of Catholic, then of Protestant missions. Each chapter ends with some statement of the methods used, of the effect of Christianity on the life of the area or country as a whole, and the effect of the environment on Christianity. There is a brief introduction which summarizes the main currents in the areas considered as they are related to the expansion of Christianity, a chapter on Russia in Asia and a concluding chapter gathering up the main threads of this and the preceding two volumes.

One is amazed by the amount of research that has gone into the preparation of even this one volume. The chapter on China has, for example, 360 footnotes calling attention to sources, often several being referred to in one note. There are about 450 titles in the bibliography of major sources included at the end of the work.

No less amazing is the success with which Dr. Latourette compresses so comprehensive a range of material into a single volume of 450 pages. Necessarily, this makes reading difficult at times. Names and dates are often given with not enough details about the event reported to be of value to the average reader. At other times, an account has been so compressed and shorn of color that the reader loses interest. But this is compensated for by vivid accounts of the lives of leading figures, an amazingly skillful characterization of main currents and movements and a balanced assessment of the net results attained.

The volume is especially valuable for the average Protestant reader for its fair and candid account of Catholic missions. Another commendable feature is the frank admission which is made of the more uncomplimentary aspects of the missionary movement through the years, such as its relation in certain cases to imperialism.

Dr. Latourette points out that, in proportion to the population, Christianity made much less headway in Asia in the nineteenth century than it did among the more primitive people, partly because of greater resistance to Christianity and partly because relatively fewer missionaries went to Asia. He concludes, however, that, taking into consideration all the factors, the progress made was amazing: Christian churches emerged in areas where they had not existed at the beginning of the nineteenth century, individual lives were transformed, education and Western medicine were introduced into large areas, human need was met on a vast scale and the cultures of ancient peoples were profoundly affected.

One cannot read this volume without being again deeply impressed with the great vitality of the Christian faith, both Catholic and Protestant. This faith sent thousands of men and women to the ends of the earth that Christ might be made known. Though many of them met death by violence and disease, there were always others to take their places and the movement continued to advance.

L. J. SHAFER

ANGLICANISM LOOKING IN AND LOOKING OUT

ANGLICAN EVANGELICALISM, *edited by* ALEXANDER C. ZABRISKIE, *with a foreword by the Presiding Bishop. The Church Historical Society, $3.00.*

CHRISTIANITY AND THE CONTEMPORARY SCENE, *edited by* RANDOLPH CRUMP MILLER *and* HENRY H. SHIRES. *Morehouse-Gorham Company, Inc., $3.00.*

THE first of these books was written by present and former members of the faculty of the Virginia Theological Seminary in honor of Wallace Eugene Rollins, teacher "of over twenty-five generations of students" and dean of the Seminary from 1931 to 1940. It is a summary of the background, theology, and practical application of Anglican Evangelical

Theology, dedicated to "one of the men most responsible for preventing the exclusion of the Thirty-Nine Articles from the Prayer Book." It is a scholarly book, carefully done, and this reviewer predicts it will be widely used and appreciated. It is a book that has been long needed, and it will strengthen the Evangelical tradition within the Episcopal Church at a time when some have tended to lose confidence in it.

Because of the amount of material contained in its ten essays by nine outstanding scholars, it is difficult to review. Indeed, practically every one of the essays, from the first by Dean Zabriskie on "The Rise and Major Characteristics of Anglican Evangelicalism" to the last by Professor Mollegan on "Evangelicalism and Christian Social Ethics," needs by itself a separate review. Because of the diversity and richness of the contents it is best to confine this review to a summary of the plan of the book.

It is divided into three sections, the first historical, the second on constructive theology, and the third on the practical application of evangelical principles. In the first section Dean Zabriskie summarizes the rise and major characteristics of Anglican Evangelicalism in England and America, revealing its independence of Wesley and Whitefield, the periods through which it has developed, and the differences between its history in England and America. Professor Lowry has an essay on the "Spiritual Antecedents of Evangelicalism" which he finds to be William Law and high church Anglicanism, and Moravianism, which issued from pietism and Luther, Calvin, and Arminianism. Professor Brown-Serman in the "Evangelicals and the Bible" summarizes down to the rise of historical scholarship, the great Biblical emphasis of the movement, with a special treatment of Thomas Scott and Charles Simeon.

The second section on Constructive Theology contains an essay each by Professor Lowry, Bishop Strider, and Charles W. F. Smith, Canon Chancellor of the Washington Cathedral, on the "Situation and Need of Man," "Jesus Christ the Redeemer," and "The Church." Mr. Smith stresses the adaptability rather than the fixity of forms of the church in a day when creative effort must be made for reunion. Bishop Strider treats of the Evangelical stress on man's fallen nature, the power of the cross, and the need for evangelical teaching today. Professor Lowry, in his second essay in the book, treats of the doctrine of man in the Bible, Augustine, the Middle Ages, the Modern Liberal Era, and the need of Christianity's teaching today. Again, the wealth of material in all the chapters makes it impossible to do more than sketch the plan of the book.

The third section on the Practical Application of Evangelical Principles, contains four essays; on missions by Presiding Bishop Tucker and Dean Zabriskie, on preaching by Dr. Bowie, on the pastoral office by Bishop Jones and on Christian social ethics by Professor Mollegan.

Some of these essays are, as Tyrrell said of an essay by von Hügel "packed tighter than a sausage," and all the chapters of this book will stand much careful reading and re-reading. It is an admirable work in every way. It covers a large field well and carefully, and should become a reference book in the Anglican parson's library.

Christianity and the Contemporary Scene is by thirteen authors who are on the faculty of, or close friends of, the Church Divinity School of the Pacific. Fifteen essays by experts in their fields depict the Church of today. The volume is issued on the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of that school. In contrast to the book by the Virginia faculty this one aims at the whole contemporary scene. This means that the volume is one of "stock-taking." Its purpose is to "stop and see where we are," to summarize briefly and concisely where we stand. This is done admirably. The volume contains essays on Theological Education, Christian Education, the Social Task of the Church, Pastoral Care, Western Political Philosophy, War and the Christian, Church Unity, the Growing Church-Mindedness of the Present, Modern American and Continental Theology, Old Testament Theology, the Jesus of History, and the Origin of Religion. It is, of course, obvious, that in a volume of this kind depth must often be sacrificed to brevity, but, as a stock-taking group of essays, it is to be recommended. Such essays as that of Dean Shires on Theological Education, that of Bishop Parsons on Church Unity, and that of Bishop Stevens on The Church-Mindedness of our day will be helpful to many. The person who wants a summary view of *Christianity and the Contemporary Scene* will find it in this book.

RICHARD EMRICH

ST. JOHN OF THE CROSS

THE SPIRIT OF FLAME, *by* E. ALLISON PEERS. *Morehouse-Gorham Company, Inc., $2.00.*

IN THIS little book, Allison Peers, Liverpool University's distinguished Professor of Spanish Studies, adds to his many contributions to the study of the Spanish mystics, a very readable and discerning life of St. John of the Cross.

The book is openly and avowedly an attempt to commend St. John of the Cross to a wider circle of English readers. To that end it includes not only the best biographical memoir available in English, for which I suspect the book will principally be prized, but a second part "The Mystic and the World of Today" in which St. John of the Cross's uniqueness as poet and mystic are considered and the principal "stumbling blocks" to his being understood and appreciated by this generation are examined and dealt with.

The book concludes by hailing St. John of the Cross as a restorer "to a world which had nearly lost it, (of) a sense of the Transcendence of Almighty God"; as an exposer in man of his compromises and evasions for what they are; as a bearer of a note of severity whose astringent quality will not be unwelcome to a world that has known sacrifice in other realms; and finally as a mystical explorer who brings home the news that there exist lands which his fellow countrymen had never seen but that were there inviting exploration.

Allison Peers has previously sketched briefly the biography of St. John of the Cross: first, in his Spanish Studies, then in a Rede Lecture in Cambridge in 1932 on St. John of the Cross, and again in the Introduction to his excellent translation of the Works of St. John of the Cross which he edited and issued in three volumes in 1934–35. But here in a hundred pages is a brilliant and illuminating sketch of a man who for most readers is so completely buried behind his work as to make his own life and personality little more than a remote legend. Born in Castile of poor parents in 1542, twenty-seven years younger than St. Teresa of Avila with whose reform of the Carmelite order his adult life is so closely associated, he first met her when he was already an exceptionally well-trained young priest of twenty-five in search of a more severe monastic order than the lax Carmelite order to which he belonged. Teresa established the first men's house of her severely reformed Carmelites at Duruelo, and John of the Cross and Father Antonio were its first occupants. The mission work of this self-denying barefoot band of Carmelite men in the surrounding area was most zealous, and grew slowly until new and more ample quarters were provided.

John of the Cross next put in five years of admirable service as confessor and spiritual director of Teresa's own original Convent of the Incarnation at Avila. It was during this period that Teresa grew to depend heavily upon him for counsel, and it was in this period that both her *Foundations* and *Interior Castle* were written.

An ugly split between the new reformed branch and the more moderate stem of the Carmelite order led in Toledo, in December 1577, to the kidnapping and imprisonment of John of the Cross by the lax party, and to a period of flogging and confinement of considerable severity. They promised him his liberty if he would abandon the reformed rule. This he resolutely refused to do. He was boxed in a windowless cell ten feet by six and kept there on bread, water and an occasional bit of salt fish with nightly floggings for more than half a year. A friendly jailor and what some early biographers hailed as a series of miracles got him free, but his health was badly shattered by his treatment there.

In these months of dark suffering, however, he was not without inward comfort and his mystical experiences are told in the poem composed here called *The Spiritual Canticle*. Of this poem, Peers says, "Many famous works

have been written in prisons, but it would be difficult to find one so short which could rival this in its combination of religious fervour with literary grace." His *Ascent of Mt. Carmel* and his *Dark Night of The Soul* are both extended commentaries on the words of his brief poems.

The balance of his life finds him at leisure for a time at Mt. Calvario where he began working on his *Ascent of Mt. Carmel* which may have been given in part in religious talks to his favorite convent of reformed Carmelite nuns at Beas. He was next the head of a small Carmelite College at Baiza from which he was called to be prior of a Carmelite monastery near Granada. From this base he founded a number of reformed religious houses. Then he became deputy for the head of the entire reformed Carmelite order and was finally cast out of office and even persecuted privately by an ambitious General of the order and sent to the lonely friary of La Penuela as an exile. His response to these hard months of persecution (which brought his life to a close in 1591 when he was 49), might be expressed in a message that he wrote to a nun after his first imprisonment, "Think only that God ordains all. And where there is no love, put love and you will find love."

There is no attempt at an interpretation of the system of ascetic practice and of the stages of the mystic way in this study such as were given by Bede Frost in his fine volume on *St. John of the Cross* published some seven years ago; but this little book will invite many to turn to the works of John of the Cross themselves to satisfy the appetite it whets. And this is exactly the service its author set out to perform.

DOUGLAS V. STEERE

SHOULD THE STATE TEACH RELIGION?

CHURCH AND STATE IN EDUCATION, *by* WILLIAM CLAYTON BOWER. *The University of Chicago Press, $1.00.*

WHEN more than half of our American youth five to seventeen years of age are receiving no systematic religious training, Protestant, Catholic or Jewish, it is time that drastic steps were taken to remedy an evil condition that threatens our democratic way of life. The home can not cope with the situation. Character education in the public schools, divorced as it is from religion, merely provides a secular ethics unable to support the moral life in the stresses of today. Sectarian churches with their divisive creeds, limited constituencies and inadequate church and week day schools, offer no universal and practical solution. The public school, therefore, must attack the problem, not only because other agencies have failed, but also because the school rather than the home and the church is better prepared to give children the content of religion and to show them how to use spiritual values in everyday living.

The earliest education in America was religious. Due to sectarian rivalries and numerous other causes, the secularization of education began about 1800 and reached its consummation three quarters of a century later. The time has come to put religion back into the public school.

This is the argument of the author in his compact little book of less than a hundred pages. He approaches his problem historically and ends with practical suggestions for school and church. Dr. Bower does not suggest that the school supplant the church. Each has its own particular task, one supplementing the other. "Religion at the functional level is unitive; at the theological, sacramental and ecclesiastical level it becomes divisive and sectarian." In the classroom religion may be viewed as any other subject such as literature, history and the arts, and should be taught as a phase of culture. Religious attitudes may be cultivated by the use of ceremonials and celebrations at Thanksgiving, Christmas and Easter. Personal counseling in the schools should seek the aid of religion. The worth of persons, respect for the beliefs of others, human brotherhood and the Fatherhood of God have a place in the curriculum. The church, on the other hand, still has its special divine mission of nourishing the spiritual life through worship and the sacraments, of calling individuals to repentance and redemption and of enlisting youth in loyal devotion to Jesus for the building of the Kingdom of God on earth.

Several objections at once arise. Sectarian religion, admittedly, is unequal to the task of giving all of our youth a vital, unitive religion. Would the imparting of religion as a phase of culture by even the most understanding public school teacher be dynamic enough to affect character? Teaching religion and teaching about religion are two different things. Some readers may question Dr. Bower's contention that "religion is no more a prerogative of the churches than education is a prerogative of the schools. Both are, in the last analysis, functions of the community." And finally, should the state teach religion? This vexing question is the nub of the whole matter.

The conclusions of so eminent a Christian educator as Dr. Bower are certain to receive careful consideration and are likely to evoke cordial agreement or violent disagreement. The author's thesis not only involves the ancient principle of the separation of church and state, but also challenges commonly accepted concepts of education and religion. Yet Dr. Bower so effectively marshals his facts, so carefully defines his terms, so objectively and persuasively presents his arguments and so frankly warns against premature and unwise experiments, that debate on his conclusion should shed light rather than heat on the thorny theme of church and state in education.

VAUGHAN DABNEY

THE VOICE OF SONG

GOD'S DREAMS, *by* THOMAS CURTIS CLARK. *Willett, Clark and Co., $2.00.*

AS Joseph Fort Newton says in an excellent "Prelude" to this volume, " 'God' is the great word in these songs." For the author sees God in city street and countryside; in the heart of man and the beauty of nature. Aware of God's presence in the common events of life, he hates the cruelties and hypocrisies of men: the ritual where no devotion is, the senselessness of war, the selfishness of greed. Because of greed men have ceased to sing at their work:

> All things in earth are wrong
> If toil is blest that stills the voice of song!

These songs are filled with joy. Not blinking the present darkness, the poet hopes and is happy. Since men are God's dreams, it is the dreams of men that count. However dark the present, day will dawn.

And yet, as is usually the case, he sees more clearly the lost idyllic beauty than the hoped-for enrichment of human life. In my opinion, the best section of the book is that inviting us to go back to simple country ways. Dreams should lead us forward. But it takes less imagination to recall happy memories than to construct a better world. One of the most effective poems in the book is the lilting, nostalgic "We Who Laughed Our Youth Away," which begins:

> We who laughed our youth away
> Now return to find it
> Where the fields are white with May. . . .

The music here matches the mood without overpowering the thought. In these country pieces, too, the imagery is more definite, as is seen especially in the flower-lists of "Earthly Heaven" and "All the Lovely Things Must Go."

This suggests perhaps the chief weakness of the poems as a whole: the scarcity, vagueness, and generality of the images. Such a line as the following is rare in its concreteness: "That little children's feet may know the grass and dew." The extensive use of personification is an attempt, though ineffective, to overcome this lack. The other weakness has to do with rhythm. In many poems this bulks too large; in a few, such as "The Dream Abides" and "Summer Worship," it runs away with the poem. On the contrary, in many poems the rhythm hesitates and breaks down toward the end.

On the whole, the best of these poems present a quiet thought in slow, dignified meter. Examples of this are "Renewal," "If Winter Comes?" and

"Have We Kept Faith?" There is one poem, however, "The Lost Christ," that echoes, in lightly moving quatrains, at not too great distance, the richly devotional verse of Whittier:

> With sentences that twist and tease,
> Confusing mind and heart,
> You forge your wordy homilies
> And bid us heed your art. . .

Thomas Curtis Clark would lead us, past human art, to the God in nature and in man.

JAMES MCBRIDE DABBS

A LIFE OF JESUS FOR THE PEOPLE

THE SHORT STORY OF JESUS, *by* WALTER LOWRIE. *Charles Scribner's Sons, $2.50.*

IN *The Short Story of Jesus* Walter Lowrie has produced a book for which readers may well be grateful. The remarkable personality of the author is irrepressibly reflected on every page. Walter Lowrie the scholar, the preacher, the poet, the litterateur, the churchman, and the individualist, have collaborated as one in imparting to the book a personal charm which distinguishes it from other popular books on Jesus.

The author is notably successful in his attempt to make the book "simple and to avoid every appearance of pedantry." He is much too acute a scholar to make the mistake of presenting "an historical account of the story of Jesus" as a simple thing or as a "short story" in the conventional literary sense of the word. The simplicity of his account rests on two specific qualities, the facile informality of style, consistently and courageously maintained even when the going was rough, and the use of Mark's gospel as the basic outline.

Into this outline the author worked a fair amount of materials from the gospels of Matthew and Luke, a procedure for which these very gospel writers set the classical precedent. Mark's narrative, however, is never lost sight of, and thus the author avoids the dangers of complete and naïve harmonization. But even Lowrie's partial and highly sophisticated harmonization is open to the charge of subjectivism.

While the book is essentially a commentary on the successive sections of the gospel of Mark, this continuity is further relieved from every appearance of pedantry by the frequent interpolation of literary, historical, theological, and inspirational subject matter. Thus the reader comes upon a discussion of the literary structure of the gospel of Mark, involving especially the double tradition of Jesus' journey to the North, of the problem of miracles, of the nature and interpretation of the parables, and of many others. Some

of them will tire some readers, others will refresh other readers. These expectations the author shares with the reviewer.

The author states that his book is popular in character, "that it was written for the people and ardently recommended to them." Certainly the book will prove helpful to readers who are determined to be introduced to the study of the Gospels themselves. This is the kind of readers for whom the book was written.

It is to be hoped that such readers will not be discouraged by the frequent and respectful references to Albert Schweitzer and Soren Kierkegaard. Lowrie's high regard for these two giants is well justified, but neither Schweitzer's nor Kierkegaard's views are set forth intelligibly or objectively. They are recast in the image of Lowrie's own faith and thought. The book would have gained a great deal (in brevity, too) if he had been consistent in the application of the stated principle that "no mention is made of the interpreters of the Gospel to whom I owe so much." This short story of Jesus is in a way a composite picture of Jesus, Mark, Schweitzer, Kierkegaard, and Walter Lowrie. In a few spots the picture may be slightly incongruous, but as a whole it is charming, inspiring, and instructive.

PAUL SCHUBERT

A DOUBTFUL CLUE

THE CLUE TO PASCAL, *by* EMILE CAILLIET. *The Westminster Press, $2.00.*

THIS little book is based on a course of lectures which the author, a professor of French Literature and Civilization at the University of Pennsylvania, delivered at the Princeton Institute of Theology in 1943. It bears the mark of this origin in spoken lectures, for it does not contain a consistently developed interpretation of Pascal's thought, but rather a discussion on his use of the Bible, interspersed with characterizations of his life and thought. The title of the book seems to mean that "the part the Bible played in the life and work of one of the profoundest thinkers of the time" is the clue that leads to the understanding of his religion.

This claim is not supported by the evidence presented. To be sure, Professor Cailliet shows what use Pascal made of the Bible, but he does not prove that his religiousness was primarily Biblical. Indeed, it can be said that because Professor Cailliet intentionally and somewhat artificially relates Pascal's thought to the Bible, believing this relation to be its core, he fails to do justice to the ideas and conflicts which actually shaped Pascal's mind. In the opinion of this reviewer, the Augustinian religiousness of the Jansenists and an ascetic mysticism characteristic of Roman Catholic piety determined Pascal's search for religious certainty. Professor Cailliet mentions these factors, but his preoccupation with Pascal's Biblicism (which,

by the way, is never clearly defined) has prevented him from evaluating them fully and properly.

The whole book is marked by the author's unlimited enthusiasm for his hero. One therefore reads it with great interest.

WILHELM PAUCK

A DISTURBING INDISPENSABLE

FREDERICK BOHN FISHER; WORLD CITIZEN, *by* W. B. H. FISHER. *The Macmillan Company, $2.50.*

I REMEMBER reading in a commentary on the Book of Amos an unusual translation of the passage of the prophet's word that he "was a gatherer of sycamore fruit." The commentator insisted that what Amos actually meant was that he was a "presser of sycamore fruit," a husbandman who by pressing the fruit hurried it along to a speedier ripening.

I do not know how sound this suggestion is as to its Hebrew, but I have thought of it every time I have given myself the pleasure of reading the life of Frederick Bohn Fisher, written by his wife, Welthy Honsinger Fisher. Bishop Fisher was a forcer of men's minds and of events. Possessed of overflowing energy, remarkable alertness of mind, and tenacity of purpose, he met every situation with the question: "What can we do about it?" He came to the episcopacy of the Methodist Church before he was forty years old, remained in it only a few years, and resigned from it to enter the pastorate of the Methodist Church at the seat of the state university at Ann Arbor, Michigan. He left his mark in fields too many to mention here. Mrs. Fisher tells about them in her charming book.

His interest in large social and international questions is well-known. He sought for the improvement of social situations in this country when big business was carrying just about everything before it, and that too with a very high hand. He stood for the peoples of India with such uncompromising vigor as to cheer and even electrify the Indian fighters for political and social freedom. All this is pretty well-known. It may not be so well-known that in action, though perhaps not in theory, he moved toward closer co-operation among the Christian denominations. To begin with, he did not bother himself much about precedents. That an institution had lasted a long time was likely to seem to him a prima facie reason for changing it. He did not care much for church laws in their practical application. They were all right in their way, but they must not get in his way. This does not mean that he went at things ignorantly. He was a wide reader, indeed, he read almost incessantly, but he felt that precedents were almost always against doing anything radically new. To his mind there simply could not be precedent for anything which had never been done before. As a pioneer he

followed the advice of Davy Crockett: "When in doubt, go ahead." In his work on the staff of missionary agencies in the United States he worked with anybody who really wanted to do anything, from fundamentalists to leftists. I ran across him in New York one day, trying to move all the missionary agencies in reach to help find a way to get Sun Yat Sen for what he described as a series of addresses to America to enlighten the churches here as to the missionary problems.

Bishop Fisher was a disturber of the peace. At the Lausanne Conference on Faith and Order in 1927 his friends had a hard time to keep him quiet when he felt that what he thought of as the pretensions of the Anglican Church, especially in India, were likely to thwart any genuine church cooperation, not to say union. In many respects he went to extremes, in his sympathy with Indian nationalists, in his willingness to make concessions to non-Christian systems, in his impatience toward his own followers who would not follow fast enough. Looking back at his whole career, however, as it is set forth by Mrs. Fisher, we discern that he was one of the indispensables. Some complained that they never knew what he would do next; but that was usually in fields where men had got so used to thinking that nothing would ever be done that they were bewildered when something was done. Some thought he moved too fast but he felt that if we ought to reach a goal, the sooner we arrived the better. With all his "drive" he never ran far past the goal, and his travelling was always in the right direction. In every realm which calls for acting upon Christian principle, ecclesiastical, political, social, racial — he was of the type we can not do without. He would never stop to correct mistakes, but others could do that, and the mistakes never counted for much as set against his profoundly Christian ideals.

FRANCIS J. MCCONNELL

REAFFIRMING THE OLD TESTAMENT

THE CHALLENGE OF ISRAEL'S FAITH, *by* G. ERNEST WRIGHT. *University of Chicago Press, $1.50.*

THIS volume is representative of the serious effort of many Christian scholars to re-establish the Old Testament in Christian theology as an essential part of Christian revelation having "an eternal validity and a decisive importance" for today. The topics of the six chapters of the book indicate the tone and scope of the discussion: "Thus Saith the Lord," "Choose You This Day," "Obey My Voice," "For I am Thy God," "Ye Shall Be My People," "Behold, the Days Come." The trend toward a "rebirth of Old Testament theology" is welcome, timely, urgent and this book challenges the conscience in its effort to rescue Bible study from

"historicism," to make it theological, and convincing in the Christian messages of our times. It is a serious call to hear God speak in the Old Testament and to preach that word. Wright gives an emphatic affirmation to the question with which he challenges the reader at the outset: "Amid the tumult, confusion, disillusionment and decay of the present day, is there in Isaiah an actual word for us from the Lord, the Creator and Ruler of this universe?" (p. 4).

The book emphasizes that the main interest of the prophets "was in the immediate word from God, intended for the peoples' instant acceptance. It was a word which was meant to confront the people with the will of God for that particular moment of crisis. . . . There are two conditions which must be met before we can really understand the prophets in the sense that they meant their own messages to be understood. The first is that we be willing to stand with them at their point of vantage, look at their particular history with them and experience the challenge and immediacy of the will of God for that moment. The second is that we endeavor to stand in our own history, struggle with the same tragic and compelling events which concern us, and strive with sensitive souls and inspired intelligence to find the immediate word of God for us, now, at this moment"(p. 29).

The method of Wright is to present what are to him the great central themes and to make them challenging to the preacher of today. The approach is theological. The necessity and value of the historical and critical methods are recognized but the challenge is made to go beyond them into the realm of revelation.

The exposition of the theme of the book is open to certain criticism even by one who agrees with his purpose. First, his treatment of writers with whom he disagrees. Wright confesses to using caricature in presenting the other side (p. 51). He speaks of current books in Old Testament history and thought as being "platitudinous." Now the "platitudinous" is the solemn statement of the other party and any one of the other party might well mark many a sentence in Wright as platitudinous to him. These terms mar the exposition. Second, his playing fast and loose with the historical method. He accepts the methods and discards old ideas of inspiration. But then in his use of Old Testament material the author at times drops to an uncritical proof-text level. On page 41, for example, he cites the familiar statement of Samuel, "To obey is better than to sacrifice, and to be attentive than the fat of rams." This text is used to emphasize that "God is Lord; let a man rebel or refuse to obey him at his peril." Now the command of Samuel to Saul was "to smite Amalek, and utterly destroy all that they have, and spare them not, but slay both man and woman, infant and suckling, ox and sheep, camel and ass" (I Samuel 15:3). The brand of obedience demanded in this case is not at all that which the prophets required nor can it be taken over into "the tumult, confusion, disillusionment

and decay of this present world as an actual word for us from the Lord, the Creator and Ruler of this universe." Here the writer should have employed the methods of criticism which he acknowledges elsewhere. Third, Wright does not set up any criteria for determining how the Old Testament is to be used as the word of God. He does not establish any guiding principles for selection and rejection, although he does both. His own method as revealed in this book is subjective, personal, theological. Others come to the Old Testament with different theological attitudes and make other selections, claiming they are presenting the essentials. Wright's book would be strengthened in a valuable way by an exposition of this matter; for, from the teaching of Jesus down through the church, this has been a serious problem and Jesus gave at the outset the clues of cancellation and fulfilment.

The Old Testament gives an agelong, unfolding word of God, gradually unfolding with increasing clarification and deepening implication. It is a word repeated, insistently and culmulatively repeated, uttered and reuttered in events, in social situations, in the deep insights of great personalities. For the Christian it is God speaking and confronting man. The task of the theological interpeter of the Old Testament is the exposition of this agelong utterance. That requires a severe discipline. *The Challenge of the Faith of Israel* is another useful contribution at this point because it does challenge faith.

JAMES P. BERKELEY

THE FATHER OF PENNSYLVANIA

WILLIAM PENN, *by* W. COMFORT. *University of Pennsylvania Press, $2.00.*

THANKWORTHY was ex-President Comfort's work, two years ago, on that noble French-American Quaker, Stephen Grellet. Now he gives us *William Penn.* One may well ask why one should add another biography to the already long list on the founder of the great colony. When the work is well done, however, the question is forgotten. Comfort writes for the three hundredth anniversary of Penn's birth. The result is a scholarly work of one hundred seventy-five pages, tightly packed and attractively written. The reader must be thankful for a liberal education in the Quaker way of life. Am I right, by the way, in noticing that it is Roman Catholics and Quakers who most adequately command the non-sectarian press in our time with their apologias?

After spending well over a third of the book on Penn's life, the author gives us successively shorter chapters on "The Defender of Quakerism," "The Apostle of Toleration," "The Founder and His Government," and "The Man of Letters." Penn, the literary man, rises to no heights unless in the epigrams of "Some Fruits of Solitude." The founder of Pennsylvania,

however, was a man of vast vision and generous soul, "the greatest of British colonizers" (p. 170). He is really the only Quaker who has been able to carry out his dreams on any such scale. Pennsylvania, and all beneficiaries of our national rights and privileges, owe him an incalculable debt. Comfort weighs the various elements in this debt. The portrait is fair and balanced. Personally, I waited long for any recognition of other influences that had poured virtue into our national freedoms; near the end Roger Williams gets a belated notice. The author, however, was not aiming at an exhaustive study of toleration or anything else, and we must acknowledge the value of the whole treatment. A man of lovely virtues and vital weaknesses (and how he suffered for those weaknesses!), Penn comes before us as a great good man, and a man we should like to meet in heaven for a hearty give-and-take.

We are indebted to the author for giving us verbatim the famous trial of Penn and Mead in 1570, for preaching on the street. Penn turned this trial into a milestone in the progress of the rights of the jury (p. 106–117).

The reviewer wonders why this author, as well as another who has just written on late seventeenth century Puritanism, should speak of the Anabaptists (p. 86, p. 87). Why not simply Baptists?

JOHN WOOLMAN BRUSH

OFFICIAL CHRISTIANITY SPEAKS

DOCUMENTS OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH, *Selected and Edited by* HENRY BETTENSON. *Oxford University Press, 95 cents.*

THIS book is volume CDXCV of the series, The World Classics. Small enough to fit in a pocket, with type and paper that make it easy to read, containing 445 pages of material in addition to a list of source books and an adequate index, it is a fit companion to the rest of the series.

The material is divided into two parts: The Early Church to the Council of Chalcedon and the Council of Chalcedon to the Present. Part I contains sections on The Church and the World; Creeds; The Earliest Testimony to the Gospels; The Person and Work of Christ; The Problem of the Relation of the Divinity and the Humanity in Christ; Pelagianism, the Nature of Man, Sin and Grace; The Church, the Ministry and the Sacraments; the Authority of the Holy See; Doctrine and Development: the Vincentian Canon; Christian Inscriptions. Part II is divided into From Chalcedon to the Breach between the East and the West; The Empire and the Papacy; Monasticism and the Friars; The Church and Heresy; The Conciliar Movement; Scholasticism; The Church in England until the Reformation; The Reformation on the Continent; The Reformation in England; Dissent in England; The Roman Church from the Counter-Reformation to the

Present; The English Church from the Reformation to the Present. The material includes official documents, selections from the chief theologians, letters and inscriptions about the life of ordinary Christians.

No two men getting out such a volume would choose exactly the same material. Bettenson, in a Prefatory Note, explains why he has deliberately put in a disproportionate amount of material relating to the Church of England, why he has omitted all documents of the Orthodox Church, and why he prefers to cite at some length from a smaller number of documents than to reproduce brief excerpts from many more. Considering the particular readers which he had in view these features are permissible.

But there are some omissions which I find it harder to account for. There is nothing dealing with any part of the world outside Europe; and not even an explanation for this. Perhaps an American may be unduly touchy on this subject; but certainly the missionary work of the churches has been one of the most important phases of their life. There is nothing from Origen — truly "the forgotten man of Christianity" as F. G. Batton calls him. In a book which devotes so much space to the English Reformation, I find it hard to justify the omission of the Ten Articles Act, all Edwardian legislation and the Thirty-nine Articles.

For a survey course in which the main interest is the history of English Christianity this book should prove very valuable; for a general course in Church History the volume has real merit, though it needs supplementing with regard to the Orthodox Churches and to non-European Christianity.

ALEXANDER C. ZABRISKIE

RETRIBUTION AND CAUSALITY

SOCIETY AND NATURE: A SOCIOLOGICAL INQUIRY, *by* HANS KELSEN. *The University of Chicago Press, $4.00.*

THE idea of causality, which characterized scientific thought from the seventeenth century until very recent times, is, according to Hans Kelsen, a derivative of the primitive idea of retribution. This is the highly-focussed thesis of *Society and Nature*. The argument is ingeniously devised. First, Professor Kelsen demonstrates by means of a wealth of citations that primitive thought interpreted nature in terms of retribution. (Words closely allied with the idea of retribution and sometimes used synonymously are revenge, vengeance, retaliation, resentment, vindication, indemnity, punishment and reward, compensation for injury, retributory justice, divine retribution, and the verbs to avenge, to barter, to sacrifice, to expiate.) Next, he demonstrates that the philosophy and religion of Greek mythology constituted a mediation between primitive and modern scientific thought. And finally he asserts that the scientific conception of causality belongs in

the same context of continuity. I use the verb *assert* rather than *demonstrate* with respect to this final stage in his argument because he is not able to muster anything like the same amount or quality of substantiating evidence for his conclusion as he does for his premises. The conclusion is what he started out to demonstrate and must therefore be regarded as hypothesis.

It is not startling to discover this type of continuity in human thought since, after all, human nature considered as a part of organic nature must also be organic and hence continuous. The use to be made of this conclusion is, patently, the important item to be considered. Unhappily, Professor Kelsen does not carry us far in the direction of significant application. (It is interesting to note that he devotes 185 pages to primitive conceptions of nature and principally to the concept of retribution, sixty-three pages to Greek religion and philosophy, and only seventeen pages to modern science. In addition there are 117 pages of footnotes.) He must have a great deal more to say and we can only hope that he will soon find the opportunity to denote how the major conclusion is to be incorporated in contemporary thought.

His tantalizing suggestions, and they remain as mere hints, include the following: (a) the modern law of causality has at last been emancipated from the idea of retribution. (b) In his process, however, the concepts of nature have become dissociated from the concepts of society. (c) Hence, there has arisen, especially, when theology is used as a perspective, a basic dualism between nature and society. (d) As a consequence we resort to natural law, that is science, when dealing with the phenomena of nature but to ideological principles when dealing with societal problems. It seems to me conclusive that if this duality remains, that is, if we are obliged to deal with two distinctly separate forms of reality, we shall not be able to make use of science as an instrument for improving our human relations. The reader will now see why I attach so much importance to the end-term in Professor Kelsen's syllogism. If the notion of two permanently separate kinds of reality persists, how can there ever be brought about any reconciliations between science and theology? I do not question the propriety of his assertion that this dualism does exist in the minds of so-called modern men. Otherwise, how could one account for the enormous growth among the fundamentalist religions in recent times? He closes with the statement that society is, from the point of view of science, a part of nature. Is there, then, another point of view, say a theological one, which regards society as not a part of nature? And, are these two points of view irreconcilable? If so, then I can see no way of building a new concept of progress, and from my viewpoint the chief justification for establishing rules of continuity in human nature and in social development is to discover new ways of using knowledge for human improvement.

EDUARD C. LINDEMAN

WARS OF RELIGION

A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea, *by* William, Archbishop of Tyre. *Translated and annotated by* Emily Atwater Babcock *and* A. C. Krey. *Columbia University Press. Two Volumes, $13.50 a set.*

A REVIEW of a work on the crusades in a periodical of religion is appropriate because the crusades were notoriously wars of religion. Not until recently, however, have we realized the degree to which they introduced a new attitude on the part of Christians toward participation in armed conflict. The earliest Christian ethic of war was that of the "just war," formulated by St. Augustine through a process of harmonization between the Sermon on the Mount and the code of Stoicism mediated through Cicero. This pagan ethic required that a war must be just as to its object, which should be to vindicate justice and restore peace; just as to its conduct, in that good faith should be observed, prisoners and hostages respected, and non-combatants spared; and just as to its auspices, that is, fought under the authority of the constituted political power and not a mere private venture. St. Augustine added the just intention, which is love of the enemy. A still more significant deviation from the classical code was that, whereas for Cicero the conditions of the just war could be observed by both contestants at the same time, for Augustine, on the contrary, justice on one side entailed injustice on the other. He was the father of the war guilt theory. He introduced likewise a graded or vocational ethic. The civil ruler and the soldier should conserve the attitudes of the Sermon on the Mount in their hearts rather than with their hands. In private life, however, the citizen should be completely non-resistant. For vocational reasons the clergy and the monks were to be exempt from conflict. This code, with slight modification, became that of Thomas Aquinas and of the Catholic Church to this day.

The crusades brought notable changes, arising primarily out of the greater theocratic organization of society. The church rather than the princes took the lead in the summons to war. The soldier fought not at the behest of the ruler, but volunteered by taking the cross. The exemption of the clerics and even of the monastics broke down, and whereas hitherto monasticism had been the purveyor of pacifism, monastic military orders were now established. The greatest difference was one of mood. For Augustine, war at best had been a sad necessity; for the crusader, it was a glorious enterprise for the honor of Christ and for the salvation of his own soul.

Some of the contemporaries perceived that changes were taking place. Henry IV complained of Gregory VII that from the throne of St. Peter he was wielding the sword. The participation of clerics and monks in warfare elicited scathing denunciations, and after scruples in the West

had subsided, the Greek Christians were shocked to see priests heaving missiles. But William of Tyre, whose great history of the crusades is here given in English translation, wrote at a time when the changes were already so well established that he saw in them no novelty. The pope's plea for a crusade, the founding of the Templars and the Hospitallers, are regarded as if they were no more unusual than a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. If anything, William reveals a slight cooling of crusading ardor. He does not revel, is rather horrified by the gore of the capture of Jerusalem. Yet he stands close to the peak of the crusading mood when the criticism against its novelty had died down and the criticism born of disillusionment had not yet arisen.

He was the Archbishop of Tyre from 1175 to 1184 or 1185. His history is the chief primary source for the story of the crusades between the years 1127 to 1184, and for the period prior to 1127 he adds here and there from oral tradition to the accounts of the earlier chroniclers. His work as a whole has served all future historians for the framework of events. The two volumes of this translation divide at the year 1124 and thus very nearly coincide with the date when William's written sources ran out.

The work of translating and editing has been done with extreme care. The knotty problems of authography and chronology according to Arabic and Christian calendars are handled with accuracy and consistency. Footnotes explain at all crucial points wherein William deviates from his sources. The notes likewise enlighten the reader as to men, places and events. A serviceable map accompanies each volume. At the close are given a selective bibliography and an index. The two authors, who have labored as long as William of Tyre himself, have placed the students alike of events and ideas in their debt.

ROLAND H. BAINTON

PREACHING AS THE PROJECTION OF PICTURES

THE CREATIVE DELIVERY OF SERMONS, *by* ROBERT WHITE KIRKPATRICK. *The Macmillan Company, $2.50.*

MANY books have been devoted to the content, development and illustrations of the sermon but relatively few have dealt effectively with its delivery. This is partly because delivery is so hard to describe, criticize or coach from the printed page. It needs personal contact, actual clinical experience, auditory and verbal give-and-take, to do much with a man's delivery.

But, so far as the delivery of sermons can be dealt with in a book, Dr. Kirkpatrick has done something fresh and valuable in his book on *The Creative Delivery of Sermons.* Such a book, carefully studied, humbly and

seriously accepted and followed out, might do wonders for many a man whose delivery now is monotonous, mumbling, unimaginative and dull. The basic principle of the book, that delivery must come from the inside, that it depends on understanding, visualization and a kindled sympathetic interpretation of what is being said, is absolutely sound. And the concrete illustrations of how to gain a vivid and imaginative grasp on the content of the sermon are practical, unique and stimulating.

A long time ago Walter L. Hervey wrote a little book called *Picture Thinking*, which has helped many a preacher realize that congregations think in concrete terms and need to see mental pictures if they are to respond intellectually and emotionally to what the preacher says. Dr. Kirkpatrick goes even further back. He shows that the preacher himself must do picture thinking and demonstrates how it can be done.

The book is by no means perfect. The sermon that is used as clinical material is almost repulsive, it is so wooden, so lacking in insight into the thinking of modern youth, so forensic and dogmatic. Why couldn't the author have chosen a sermon that had poetry and real imagination in it, that worthily grappled with some spectre of the soul, and issued at last in really creative spiritual insight? Moreover, this reviewer for one, would readily have given up some of the summaries and exhortations for a chapter on how to put a glow into one's reading of the Bible by using a similar imaginative and visualized interpretation.

ALBERT W. PALMER

PAPERS PREPARED BY MEMBERS OF THE AMERICAN THEOLOGICAL COMMITTEE

THE CONCEPTION OF THE CHURCH AS HELD BY THE EVANGELICAL AND REFORMED CHURCH

By GEORGE W. RICHARDS

AS the name indicates, this Church is a union of two Churches (1934), each of which had the same Continental Protestant background. The Reformed Church in the United States rooted in the Zwinglian, Calvinistic, and Palatinate Reform (1560–63). Its pioneers came to Pennsylvania and adjoining colonies from the Rhineland, the German cantons of Switzerland, and an influential minority from Holland and France. Their confession of faith as well as their catechism for the instruction of youth and the edification of adults was the Heidelberg Catechism (1563). The first congregations were organized in Pennsylvania (1725) in the region extending from Pottstown to Philadelphia.

The Evangelical Synod was composed of German and Swiss pioneers of the nineteenth century. They represented in the United States the Evangelical United Church of Germany. Their standards of doctrine were Luther's Shorter Catechism, the Augsburg Confession, and the Heidelberg Catechism. They settled in the Midwest, the Mississippi Valley, and in states bordering on the Atlantic Ocean.

In the union of the two bodies, called Evangelical and Reformed Church, the standards of doctrine above named became part of the Constitution declared adopted in 1940.

I. The Nature of the Church

1. The Church is the body of Christ, the fellowship of the redeemed, created by the eternal Word of God made man in Christ, and is always vitalized and guided by the Holy Spirit. It is not primarily an organization or an institution but an organism and a fellowship, a new mode of God's presence, and a new form of man's life, in history.

2. In its visible form it consists of all those, together with their children, whom God calls out of the whole human race, through the word, the work, the life, the death, the resurrection, the glorification, and the Spirit of his Son Jesus Christ, into fellowship with himself and through him with one another, and who respond by repentance and faith to the divine call, working in faith, laboring in love, with the patience of hope for the eternal pur-

pose of God revealed in Christ. The individual Christian is both *justus et peccator;* the fellowship of Christians is at the same time *corpus Christi* and *corpus peccatorum.*

3. It includes, also, those who have gone before us in the way of salvation, the fellowship of patriarchs and prophets, apostles and martyrs, and the whole glorious company of the redeemed of all ages who have died in the Lord and now live with him forevermore. It transcends temporal and spatial, racial and national boundaries. It is both the *ecclesia militans* and the *ecclesia triumphans.*

4. It recognizes its continuity with the original fellowship of Christians, apostles and disciples, in the acknowledgment of the sole Lordship of Jesus Christ and in the acceptance of the universal priesthood of believers who are members of Christ, partakers of his grace and truth, and who feel themselves bound by his Spirit to use their gifts for the advantage and welfare of other members and of all mankind. The external evidences of the historical continuity are the ministry of the word, the administration of the sacraments, and the exercise of Christian discipline. The internal evidence is loyalty to the Spirit of the Lord as revealed in his Word. The creeds and confessions of the Church are regarded more and more as testimonies of faith rather than as tests of faith. According to its tradition, however, it requires of both its members and officers an affirmation, which is equivalent to acceptance of the doctrinal standards.

5. The Church is essentially one, holy, catholic, and apostolic; but these attributes are in process of realization through the Spirit of the Lord dwelling in its members. Both the individual and the fellowship must gradually become what potentially they are. To this end "he gave some, apostles; and some, prophets; and some, evangelists; and some, pastors and teachers; for the perfecting of the saints, unto the work of ministering, unto the building up of the body of Christ: till we all attain unto the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a fullgrown man, unto the measure of the stature of the fullness of Christ" (Ephesians 4:11–13).

The Church is not regarded merely as an aggregation or collection of different individuals drawn together by similarity of interests and wants; nor as "a voluntary society of men joining themselves together of their own accord in order to the public worship of God in such manner as they judge acceptable to him and effectual to the salvation of their souls"; far less as a concourse of men and women banded together to promote eccentric, individualistic opinions and claiming to restore primitive or Biblical Christianity.

6. Individuals ordinarily become Christians through the Church, which is before the individual; in other words, the general precedes the particular

and rules and conditions all its manifestations. This is the basis of infant baptism, Christian nurture, and personal confession of faith, preceding admission to the Lord's Supper and all the privileges and responsibilities of communicant membership.

The marks of the Church (*notae ecclesiae*), "the sure tokens by which we know the same" (Calvin's Catechism, Ans. 100) are (1) the true preaching of the word, (2) the right administration of the sacraments, (3) ecclesiastical discipline (the power of the keys) administered not for the punishment but for the salvation of the offender.

II. The Function of the Church

1. The primary function of the Church is to glorify God through sacrificial service, to bear witness by word and deed among all nations, in all lands and times, to God's redeeming grace and guiding truth through the corporate and the individual life, to assert the claims of Jesus Christ to the Lordship of the whole life of man, so that the Christian principles of justice and love shall gradually be expressed in all human relations, personal, industrial, economic, racial, national, and international.

2. The Church is *in* the world but not *of* the world. It is a colony from heaven, a *communio sanctorum* in the New Testament sense, whose members faithfully strive to live in the spirit of their Saviour and Lord, bear the fruits of the Spirit, do not fulfill the lusts of the flesh (Galatians 5:16), and look forward in hope to a new heaven and a new earth.

3. The Church is independent of the state but it honors and obeys the authority of the state in things temporal so long as the state does not contradict the will of God in Christ. Then it stands in judgment on the state and must obey God rather than men. While the Church, through the grace of God, is free from the rudiments of the world, it is the greatest benefactor of the state by bearing witness to the justice of God as revealed in Christ and rendering service in love to all its citizens.

The Church is not equivalent to the Kingdom of God. It is the divinely founded agency for the preservation and the propagation of the gospel of the Kingdom. The Church does not directly enter into politics or business; but it pronounces judgment on all social orders by the standards of the gospel, it permeates public life with the spirit of Christ, and trains men and women to manifest the grace and truth of God in their daily lives and in their political and social attitudes and actions.

The Kingdom of God implies the complete rule of God; its consummation marks the end of time, "when all things shall be subdued unto him" and when "the Son also himself shall be subject unto him that put all things under him, that God may be all in all" (I Corinthians 15:28).

For the fulfillment of its mission the Church must affirm four freedoms: (1) freedom to determine its faith and creed; (2) freedom of public and private worship, preaching, teaching, and works of mercy and love; (3) freedom from any imposition by the state of religious ceremonies; (4) freedom to determine the nature of its government and the qualifications of its ministers and members.

III. Means of Grace

Salvation from God through Jesus Christ is imparted to the individual through the outward and ordinary means of grace — the word, sacraments, and prayer. These are God's gifts to his Church. The free gift of salvation is appropriated through faith which "the Holy Ghost works in our hearts through the preaching of the Gospel and confirms by the use of the Holy Sacraments" (Heidelberg Catechism, Ans. 66).

IV. The Ministry

Jesus Christ, when he appointed "twelve," "that they might be with him and that he might send them forth to preach" (Mark 3:14), ordained the office of the ministry to which are entrusted the ordinary means of grace. While the office is considered a divine ordinance, the officers are chosen by the congregation and are licensed, ordained, and installed by authority of the Synod, which is composed of an equal number of ministers and elders or lay delegates.

The ministers are to conduct worship in the house of God, dispense the holy sacraments, have pastoral oversight; and, in conjunction with the elders, they constitute the Spiritual Council which has the power of discipline, of admitting to, and of dismissing members from, the congregation.

V. Priesthood of the Believer

The Church, however, recognizes that all believers are prophets, priests, and kings, and that the manifestations of the Spirit are not confined to the office of the ministry. Prophecy or charismatic gifts find place in the corporate life of the Church. The Spirit may speak to whomsoever he will. Therefore the call to bear witness to the gospel and to proclaim God's will by word and deed, does not come to the regular ministry alone. The Church needs and should both expect and welcome the exercise of gifts of prophecy, teaching, and wise counsel by the laity, both men and women. When prophetic gifts appear the Church is not to quench the Spirit or to despise prophesyings, but to test these prophesyings by their accordance with the abiding truth entrusted to it and to hold fast that which is good (see I Corinthians 12:27–31).

VI. Doctrinal Standards and Theological Interpretation

1. The doctrinal standards, though subject to revision, as a rule remain static; theological interpretations change with the years and the climates of opinion. Thus a distinction is made "between the things fundamental, instrumental, and accidental" (John A. Comenius). The Church provides freedom, within certain limits, for difference of interpretation of the doctrinal formulas. The Constitution says: "Wherever these doctrinal standards differ, ministers, members, and congregations, in accordance with the liberty of conscience inherent in the gospel, are allowed to adhere to the interpretation of one of these confessions. However, in each case the final norm is the Word of God." This principle applies, also, to theological interpretations from generation to generation.

2. The Evangelical and Reformed Church is, in spots, conservative, liberal, and mediational. There is no considerable trend toward fundamentalism or toward secular humanism. True to the basal doctrines of the Church formulated in the ancient creeds and the evangelical confessions of the Reformation, the interest of ministers and members is in Christian activity which is in accord with the accepted faith and order, — evangelism, national and international missions, benevolence, the application of the gospel both to the individual life and to the economic and the political order of the nation and of the world at large. This Church is a member of the Alliance of Reformed Churches Throughout the World Holding the Presbyterian System and is officially committed to the ecumenical movement of Oxford and Edinburgh and to the World Council of Churches.

It is progressively evangelical. It is free from ecclesiastical shibboleths, because it distinguishes the essential elements from the transient forms of Christianity. It differs from Roman Catholicism but it has the catholicity of the Apostles' Creed and the Te Deum; it differs from ultra-Lutheranism but it has the mystic depth of Luther's doctrine of grace and of the freedom and the bondage of the Christian man. It does not teach the Calvinistic doctrine of double predestination, but it preaches trust in the sovereignty of God and zeal for the glorification of God through obedience to his will in all the relations of life. It does not hold a dogmatic view of inspiration nor the humanistic way of finding God through the reason, the will, or the feelings of man; but it is bound by the authority of the Word of God as manifested in Jesus Christ and comprehended by the obedience of faith, — "faith active in love" (Galatians 5:6). It does not accept the theory of apostolic succession, but it believes in the historical continuity of the Church Catholic in the fellowship of the faithful and through an educated ministry duly authorized for the preaching of the gospel, the administration

of the sacraments, the exercise of Christian discipline, and the perpetuation of the Christian life through the individual believer in the community. It prefers and practices infant baptism but recognizes the validity of adult baptism by immersion. It does not prescribe a method of conversion but insists on its necessity through the grace of God appropriated by the faith of the individual and confirmed by a daily life of faith, hope, and love.

"The article of the standing and falling Church" is the experience contained in the confession: "I believe that Jesus Christ is my Saviour and Lord." When men have that conviction in the heart and make confession with the mouth, they are no longer "in bondage under the elements of the world" (Galatians 4:3) and of human ordinances but have entered into the liberty of the sons of God. They are then free to work out statements of doctrine, forms of worship, and ways of life which are true to their experience, to the spirit of the glorified Christ, and to the conditions of the age in which they live.

3. The Church is as broad as the gospel and as narrow as the Christ. It welcomes the accredited results of biblical criticism, of scientific study, and of philosophic thought, and is ever striving to reconstruct theology in the light of a new age; yet while it is convinced that the gospel must always be related to the thought and life of the time when it is proclaimed, it is equally certain that Jesus Christ is the same, yesterday, today, and forever; the Alpha and the Omega, the One who was and is and is to come. Theologies change, but the gospel is constant and eternal. Only that in the Old Testament which is in harmony with the spirit of Christ is accepted as final authority; only that in the New Testament which agrees with the gospel of our Lord has permanent value. The creeds and confessions are laudable attempts to state in brief form the gospel and its implications, but are always subordinate to the Word of God and subject to modification. With one accord, the Church assents to the motto of Meldenius, which Doctor Philip Schaff popularized in America: *In necessariis unitas, in dubiis libertas, in omnibus caritas.* For our faith is not assent to the contents of a book, a symbolic statement, a theory of inspiration, but trust in a person, which at the same time involves a complete commitment of one's whole life to the living God incarnate in Jesus Christ.

VII. Government

The Evangelical and Reformed Church does not regard government, which is of the presbyteral order, as a part of the *esse* but of the *bene esse* of the Church. That form of government is *jure divino* which enables judicatories, officers, and members to carry on most effectively what "Jesus began both to do and to teach." The Church may have preference for its specific polity, which is largely determined by historical conditions and the traditions that

come from the founding fathers. But it does not equate the government or organization with the gospel of God, that is, with allegiance to the Saviourhood and Lordship of Jesus Christ, or, even in a less degree, with the summary of the faith in the Apostles' Creed. From the point of view of the Evangelical and Reformed Church, its polity is an adiaphoron, not a matter of indifference but of preference; different forms of polity, therefore, may exist side by side in the same country and each, for its adherents, is *jure divino* — a pragmatic rather than a dogmatic test.

The Preamble of the Constitution reads as follows:

> For the maintenance of truth and order in the proclamation of the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ and the advancement of the Kingdom of God in accordance with the Word of God, the Evangelical and Reformed Church, formed by the union of the Evangelical Synod of North America and the Reformed Church in the United States, ordains this constitution to be its fundamental law and declares the same to have authority over all its ministers, members, congregations, and judicatories.

It is a Constitution for the whole Church, all its members, congregations, officers — not merely for the control of the General Synod or the General Council. The Church is governed by judicatories, whose members are chosen by the congregations, not by divinely appointed officers, nor is each congregation an independent and autonomous entity. Two principles are maintained — that of *autonomy* and that of *authority;* these blend within limits prescribed by the Constitution. There is autonomy of members, ministers, congregations, and judicatories of congregations (the Consistory or Church Council and the Spiritual Council), of the local synod and of the General Synod. Whether it be a member, an officer, or a judicatory, when he or it feels aggrieved, the right of appeal, of complaint, and of reference is granted. Of course, the General Synod is the court of last appeal. Thus autonomy is limited by authority which is voluntarily vested by the members and the officers in the several judicatories.

VIII. Worship and Life

The Constitution of the Evangelical and Reformed Church contains three brief, liberal statements relating to worship:

1. Congregations are allowed freedom of worship. The forms and order of worship that are set forth in the Book of Worship and in the hymnal approved by the General Synod shall be followed as accepted norms.

The Lord's Day and the festivals and seasons of the Church year shall be observed with appropriate services in the House of God.

2. The sacraments of the Church, instituted by Christ, are Holy Baptism and the Lord's Supper.

3. The rites of the Church are confirmation, ordination, consecration, marriage and burial.

1. There are three different groups so far as worship is concerned: (1) those who, through long usage, prefer the free service; (2) those who blend the free service and liturgical forms; (3) those who are zealous advocates of a more or less highly liturgical service. None of these forms, however, is mandatory; nor could one be censured for using or not using one or the other. Here, also, the congregation is granted the freedom of the sons of God. The General Synod of June, 1942, approved a *Book of Worship* and commended its use to ministers and congregations.

The ideal of worship in the Evangelical and Reformed Church is to make room for the liturgical forms of the Church in all ages which embody both the ecumenical and the evangelical spirit, and for spontaneity and freedom which varying conditions, times, and places require — worship in spirit and truth, in the beauty of holiness, and in the holiness of beauty. Thus it is hoped that the enervating effects of ritualism and the barrenness of a free service may be prevented, and that the worship in the house of God may proceed from heart and voice and hand, decently and in order.

2. The Church has been, and now is, committed to the educational method of the cultivation of the Christian life. Baptized children of Christian parents are brought up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord in the home, the school, and the congregation. Under oversight of the pastor through instruction in the fundamentals of the faith, the youth are prepared for full membership and are admitted to the Lord's table by the rite of confirmation. It is assumed that faith is begotten in the heart by the Holy Spirit through the preaching, teaching, and practicing of the gospel — is confirmed by the use of the sacraments and by good works which are the fruit of faith.

3. While the Church regards the ordinary means of grace — the preaching and teaching of the word, Christian nurture in home and school, pastoral visitation, instruction and oversight, the sacraments, and fellowship in worship and work — as the normal way of begetting and developing the Christian life in children, in men and women, it by no means is averse or indifferent to special evangelistic efforts. The Constitution requires the election of a Commission on Evangelism, which, however, does not encourage the independent, sporadic, unchurchly methods of many self-appointed revivalists. It favors and supports the kind of evangelism that is true to the evangel and the Scriptures, to approved evangelistic traditions, and to the conditions and needs of men of each generation.

4. The Church is in accord with the *Social Ideals*, at first published as the *Social Creed*, of the Churches in the Federal Council. It does not accept two gospels; but two implications of the one gospel, which is good news from God to men through his Son Jesus Christ for the salvation of the individual and the transformation of the social order of which the individual is an organic part. The Kingdom of God is more than a coming event when

Christ will return in visible form to begin the Messianic reign; it is a present reality wherever his Spirit controls men's lives; and it is also a future hope, for only gradually can his will be done on earth as in heaven, by individuals and nations. Its consummation is not in time but in eternity; history becomes meaningful when it is seen and read in the light of the crucified, risen, and reigning Christ. Not by might nor by power but by his Spirit, affirming his purpose in the hearts of men, will the kingdoms of the world be overcome and the reign of righteousness and love, revealed in Christ and the Cross and vindicated in the Resurrection and Glorification, be finally established.

THE LUTHERAN CONCEPTION OF THE CHURCH

By ERIC H. WAHLSTROM

I. The Origin of the Church

WE WOULD prefer to state Jesus' relation to the founding of the Church from two points of view — historical and religio-theological.

1. God alone founds, establishes and maintains his Church, for he alone redeems man and thus takes him into communion with himself. God's redemptive activity through which he creates the Church has been carried on throughout all ages and will continue to the end of time. In this activity we see certain high points — the call of Abraham, the Exodus, the giving of the Law, the return from the Exile, the preaching of the prophets. The history of the Church is also the history of God's redemptive activity. As Paul can say that "God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself" and thus creating the Church, so in a certain sense we may say that God was and is in all his messengers sent to proclaim his Word of grace and redemption. Jesus, however, is the center of this redemptive process. What goes before may be seen as preparatory to his coming, and what follows is the direct result of his life and work. He gave to his disciples the vision of a universal people of God gathered from all nations and tongues. What up to his time had been the possession of one people was mediated through him to the one, holy, catholic Church. In this historical sense Jesus founded the Church. How much instruction he gave his disciples about its nature and function, and how much actual organization was achieved during his lifetime, are historical questions which cannot now be answered with absolute certainty.

2. From a religio-theological point of view Jesus as Redeemer and Mediator is the Lord and Head of the Church, and the Church is his body. The foundation of the Church of all ages has been laid once for all in his life and in his vicarious sacrifice for our sins. He is "the chief cornerstone," on whom even the prophets built. He is the living Lord who in Word and Sacrament is present always to found, establish, and maintain his Church in every generation and to all eternity.

II. The Organization of the Church

The Church is free in any place or age to develop such an organization as will ensure the preaching of a pure and whole gospel, provide an adequate expression of its nature as a fellowship, and enable it to carry on its mission in the world. Though old and established forms are not lightly to be discarded, the Church need not strive to reproduce the forms of organization prevalent during any past period in its history. The Lutheran Church does not claim that its present organization is that of the New Testament Church, but it strives always for an organization which will express its nature and be adequate to its needs. Consequently, there is no uniform system of government in the Lutheran Church. In some countries the historic episcopate has been retained; in others the general officers of the Church are called superintendents or presidents, and are elected for a definite term. In the United States the general church assemblies consist of an (approximately) equal number of clerical and lay delegates.

Although Jesus instituted the ministry by calling and training those whom he sent forth to preach, the office has its ground in the redeeming activity of God through Word and Sacrament. God, who was "in Christ reconciling the world unto himself," has also given to us "the ministry of reconciliation." This office rests on the nature of the gospel as a proclamation of grace, as is indicated in Paul's words: "How shall they believe in him whom they have not heard? and how shall they hear without a preacher? and how shall they preach, except they be sent?" (Romans 9:14, 15.) The Spirit who "calls, gathers, enlightens and sanctifies the whole Church" on the one hand calls men into the ministry, and on the other hand guides the Church in the selection and preparation of those who are to be ordained as ministers of the Word. The Church and the ministry belong together; the one is not primary or secondary to the other. The gospel creates the office of the ministry even as it creates the Church. The ministry is not a self-perpetuating order, but a divinely appointed office within the Church.

III. The Nature of the Church

As a preliminary remark it may be pertinent to say that the Church of Jesus Christ is *one* in all ages and in all places. If we use such terms as "the visible" and "the invisible" Church, we must recognize that we are referring to one and the same Church from two different points of view. There never could be a Church which is merely "invisible"; nor could there be any merely "visible" Church. Wherever the Word of God is preached and the sacraments are administered, there is the true Church of Jesus Christ.

The Una Sancta. The one, holy, Christian Church which Christ gathers among all men by the means of grace is a communion of saints. The members of this Church are "saints" because they have been redeemed by Christ, their sins are forgiven, and they live a new life in Christ. They are a "communion" because they are united by faith to Christ and are members of his body: "one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all" (Ephesians 4:5, 6). To this Church belong all the redeemed of all ages. The saints in heaven are members of this Church as the Church Triumphant. Each one enters into this communion through the redemptive act of God, who alone calls men into communion with himself.

The Empirical Church. The true Church of Jesus Christ is present and visible wherever "the gospel is rightly preached and the sacraments rightly administered" (Augustana VII), for "where baptism and the gospel are, no one may doubt that there are saints, even if it were only the babes in their cradles" (Luther). God is present in these means of grace to seek and to save the lost, to redeem men from sin, and to establish and keep them in communion with himself. All the essential elements of the true Church are present in any congregation where the gospel is preached and the sacraments are administered. The Church is a communion created by the gospel, and thus is in a constant state of becoming. It is the nature of the gospel to create a communion (*koinōnia*), and the Church thus becomes to faith the visible expression of the gospel as "the power of God unto salvation."

The *Una Sancta* and the empirical Church cannot be separated. They are two aspects of the one Church. Neither can they be completely identified. There may be many hypocrites and evil persons mingled with the saints. God alone is able to separate the wheat from the tares. Furthermore, even the saints are weak and frail and beset with sin. Nevertheless, faith perceives that this empirical Church in which the gospel is preached and the sacraments are administered is the true Church of Jesus Christ on earth, because and in so far as it is a creation of the gospel. Wherever the gospel is preached a communion and community life are created. The presence

of sin and of hypocrites in the empirical Church does not hide from faith that it really is the Church of God and the communion of saints.

The congregation admits to and excludes from its own membership, but such action does not ultimately determine a person's membership in the body of Christ. Admission is by baptism, and baptized children are real members of the Church. In the case of baptized adults the admission is by confession or confirmation.

IV. The Relation of the Church to Christ

Christ was, is, and ever will be the Lord of the Church. Without him there would be no Church. He is the living and active Lord who in Word and sacrament is present always to found, establish, and maintain his Church in every generation and to all eternity. That the Church is "the body of Christ" is one way of expressing this absolute dependence of the Church upon Christ. The redemption of Christ on Calvary is the foundation on which the Church rests. This redemption has been accomplished by Christ once and for all, but it is the work of the Holy Spirit to bring about the salvation of individuals by calling them to faith in Christ and establishing them in it. "The Holy Spirit calls, gathers, enlightens, and sanctifies the whole Christian church on earth and preserves it in union with Christ in true faith" (Luther's Small Catechism).

Although the Lutheran Church would recognize that the members of the Church are loyal and devoted to Christ, the primary emphasis in expressing the relationship of the Church to him would be placed on the fact that he chooses the Church, redeems it, and makes it his own forever. The Church's relation to Christ is expressed primarily in the fact that Christ is present and active in the Church to seek and to save.

Since Christ is the head of the Church and the Church is his body, and since the Church lives in him by the means of grace, it might be possible to say that it is "the continuation of the incarnation"; but that seems to be an unfamiliar and equivocal expression. It is a "voluntary" organization in the sense that no one can be compelled to enter against his will, but not in the sense that a person of and by himself decides to become a member, or, that a group of Christians decide to form a Church. God alone creates the Church, when he calls and enables a man to enter the Church. The Church is "a fellowship ruled by the Spirit of Christ," but that in and by itself is not an adequate description of the relation of the Church to Christ. The Lutheran Church feels that the primary emphasis must be on the activity of God in Christ, not on the character or activity of the members.

V. The Message and Mission of the Church

(a) The message is the gospel of reconciliation between God and man, or the good news that "God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself, not reckoning unto them their trespasses" (II Corinthians 5:19). Its two parts are law and gospel: the law which reveals God's will for the whole of life and condemns man as a sinner, and the gospel in which God offers grace and life to the repentant sinner on the basis of the atonement of Christ on Calvary. It is the good news to men that God always was, is, and ever will be the God who redeems man from sin and creates new life. The Lutheran Church would regard the doctrine of justification by faith as the central core of its message; but this must not be understood in a mechanical or intellectualistic fashion. That God saves man means that he takes him out of "the power of darkness and translates him into the kingdom of the Son of his love." God creates anew the whole man and sets him into an entirely new relationship to himself and to his fellow men. He takes him out of "this present evil age" into "the new age" of the Spirit. The message thus includes the possibilities and powers of the new life in which man lives by grace in a right relation to God and to his brethren.

(b) The mission of the Church is to bear witness by word and life to the redemptive activity of God. The gospel of forgiveness and redemption must be proclaimed in all the world. This witness includes both judgment and grace. The life of the Church in "sanctification of the Spirit and the belief of the truth" is both a judgment on the sin of the world and a witness to the reality of the transforming power of the grace of God. The mission of the Church is to demonstrate by word and life that God is both the Redeemer and the Sanctifier.

This mission is accomplished through the administration of the means of grace whereby the Church is extended and maintained in all ages and in all lands. The Church is God's agency of salvation (*Heilsanstalt*) in the world. It is, as Luther expressed it, "the mother that bears every Christian through the Word of God which he [the Holy Spirit] reveals and preaches, and through which he illumines and enkindles hearts, that they understand and accept it, cling to it and persevere in it."

VI. The Relation of the Church to the World, the State and the Kingdom of God

The World. (1) The "world" in the sense of God's creation is his handiwork, and all his gifts in nature and in the manifold talents of human life are good and useful. God rules this world in mercy and judgment, and his purposes will ultimately prevail. In regard to the world thus conceived the Church lives in gratitude to God for his gifts in creation and finds its joy in the fulfilment of God's purposes for this world.

(2) "The world" in the sense of the fallen, sinful, human world is the object of God's redemptive activity, for "God so loved the world that he gave his only begotten Son." The world is "dead in trespasses and sins," but God comes into this world through the means of grace to redeem man and to transform the world from death into life, from "the present evil age" into "the new age" of life and love.

(3) In a third sense "the world" stands as a symbol of that which is opposed to God, in enmity toward him, and upon which rests the judgment of God. This is the world which rejects Christ and despises his gospel, persecutes the Church, and is the enemy of the cross of Christ.

The distinction between the second and third of these senses is not absolute, since in either case "the world" stands as a symbol for those who are outside the communion with God in Christ. Between the Church and the world the difference is that between life and death. But the mission of the Church is "to preach the gospel to every creature." The Church must preach law and gospel, judgment and grace, to the whole world in spite of all enmity and opposition which this may arouse.

The State. The state is the political community, by which we understand society organized for mutual protection and development in all spheres of physical, intellectual, moral and religious activities. God wills an ordered social relationship, and thus the state has its basis in his will. This does not imply that any historical type of government has functioned in perfect accord with his will, but there have been and are relative degrees of conformity in various forms of government. We consider the state, generically conceived, to be a divine institution. The state would be necessary even if all men were Christian because some measure of social organization is necessary for society to function effectively. As a divine institution the state stands under the authority and judgment of God's Word. Since the state is composed of all within its borders, and a minority are Christian, the principle on which the state depends is force, which God has given it the right to use. But the purpose of the use of force is to bring men under the judgment of God so that they may learn the principle of love.

From the Lutheran point of view the Church is not a political unit, and cannot and must not function as such. Church and state are separate by their very nature. Members of the Church, however, function politically — individually and collectively. Christians should exercise their political prerogatives under the guidance of the Spirit of God, and therefore it is the duty of the Church, through the Word, to enlighten the conscience of its membership to the end that the will of God may be done in the political realm. A mutual and intimate relationship therefore develops between Church and state.

The Kingdom. The Lutherans have not made use of the concept "the Kingdom of God" as extensively as others. They speak of "God's kingdom of grace" and "God's kingdom in glory" rather than simply "the kingdom." The kingdom is thus understood on the basis of grace, and God establishes his kingdom by his redemptive activity. It is God's rule over personal beings who in penitence and faith and by grace alone live in communion with God through Jesus Christ.

Since the Church is the communion of saints, the redeemed people of God in heaven and on earth, it is in this sense identical with the kingdom. He who is by grace a member of the Church of Christ is also a citizen in the kingdom. But the Church is also the agency of God for establishing the kingdom in the world. This is the kingdom of grace which is established through the means of grace in all the world.

VII. The Continuity of the Church

Ultimately "our Church" cannot maintain "the continuity of the true Church of Christ," but Christ himself does this by his presence and activity. He does so by the gifts which he has given and gives to the Church — the Word, the Spirit, the Sacraments, and the Ministry. The true Church of Christ continues to exist wherever the Word of God is preached and the sacraments are administered in accordance with the essential meaning and purpose which Christ gave to them and which the Holy Spirit continually reveals and applies. Where Christ is, there is the Church. Since he has come to us through the Word, mediated by the Church, we consider that the ever renewing power by which the Church lives will also come out of the same Word, which also creates anew the Church as the channel for his grace.

VIII. Changes within the Church

The history of the Lutheran Church in the last hundred years shows a renewed interest in the liturgy or worship, a deepened understanding of the evangelical and missionary character of the gospel, and a renewed historical study of the Scriptures, of Luther, and of the sources of the confessions of the Church. It shows also a new awareness of the need to integrate the eternal gospel with the changing conditions and needs of modern life. It has also become more aware of the ecumenical nature of the Church.

IX. The Lutheran Contribution to the Church Universal

The Word is central and authoritative in the Lutheran Church, and this concept must go with us into any relationship we develop with other bodies. Our interpretation of the action of the Word implies an activity of the Spirit in the life of each believer which guards against an authori-

tarianism of organization which becomes a barrier to the operation of the Spirit. Our interpretation of the Word places the emphasis on the divine initiative and the sufficiency of grace for the salvation of all men. The unity of the Church Universal which we seek does not arise from a visible organization or uniformity of rites; "to the true unity of the Church it is enough to agree concerning the doctrine of the gospel and the administration of the sacraments" (Augustana VII).

Our Church places a strong emphasis on the confessions and the creed, as witnesses to and expressions of the faith and life of the Church. We believe that the confessions provide a definite content and anchorage for our faith. Our Church would insist that the Universal Church of Christ should have a definite confessional character.

We need help in our Church to keep alive the meaning of *body* as opposed to the individual. The Reformation was a revolt from the wrong conception of *societas christiana* — we have not found an adequate substitute, the right idea of the Church Catholic. We need help also in keeping vividly before us the New Testament picture of a *living* Church, in which there is unceasing "travail" to bring and keep each member in vital personal faith-fellowship with God through Christ.

THE CONGREGATIONAL CHRISTIAN CONCEPTION OF THE CHURCH

By WALTER M. HORTON

THE Congregational Christian Churches represent a confluence of several originally different traditions: that of the Independents or Separatists (the earliest), that of the Puritans (immeasurably the most important), that of the Congregational Methodists (significant only in a small area in the South), that of the Evangelical Protestants (of German extraction), and that of the movement known as the "Christian Church" (itself of complex origin), not to mention that of many comparatively small originally non-English-speaking groups like the Armenian Evangelicals.

The Independent type of church, still perpetuated in British Congregationalism, arose in sixteenth-century England under the leadership of Robert Browne and John Robinson. Believing in an immediate reformation of the Church "without tarrying for any," the early Independents seceded from the Church of England and organized small local congrega-

tions according to what they believed to be the New Testament pattern: each congregation independent of all overhead control except the authority of the Word of God, the lordship of Christ and the guidance of the Spirit, but glad to extend fellowship to other such churches. Fleeing to Holland from persecution in England, Pastor Robinson's congregation at length determined to found a settlement in America. Robinson remained behind in Leyden, but in his farewell sermon he used a phrase which has followed American Congregationalism throughout its history: "the Lord had more truth and light yet to breake forth out of His Holy Word." Echoes of this can be heard in the Kansas City declaration of 1913: "our purpose to walk in the ways of the Lord, made known or to be made known to us."

In Massachusetts the Leyden Pilgrims, who had landed at Plymouth in late December, 1620, soon made the acquaintance of the Puritans of Massachusetts Bay, who in a few years overwhelmingly outnumbered them. The Puritans who came to America were non-separatist Congregationalists. They had remained attached to the Church of England, hoping to reform it from within by substituting Congregationalism for Episcopacy, and having been blocked in their effort in the home land they now poured into eastern Massachusetts to set up a Congregational Church of England. In this they found themselves at one with the Leyden group who had come to these shores and who had separated only from what they regarded as a perverted Church of England. So all the churches of early Massachusetts and Connecticut were organized on the same basis which had been adopted by the Plymouth Pilgrims: a covenant, not a creed, as basis of membership, and a pastor ordained by the congregation. The Salem church's original covenant reads: "We covenant with the Lord and with one another and so bind ourselves in the plans of God to work together in all his ways according as he is pleased to reveal Himself unto us in His blessed word of truth." (Fagley, *The Congregational Churches*, page 12. *Pilgrim Press, Revised edition, 1938.*) While the Congregational churches of Colonial New England were mainly recruited from Puritan settlements, and resembled the Church of England in that they were the established church of "standing order," the influence of the covenant idea upon them has been determinative. To this day, the basis of the American Congregational churches is a covenant freely entered into "with the Lord and with one another," and solemnly renewed from time to time at the Communion Table. In this covenant, the rights of each individual conscience are recognized; but an ordained ministry of the Word is maintained for the direction of consciences.

American Congregationalists have gone through many important developments. They were staunch Calvinists at the start; their first formal doctrinal declaration, the "Cambridge Platform," expresses general approval of the Westminster Confession. In the "Great Awakening" under Jonathan

Edwards and George Whitefield, their preaching took on a pronouncedly evangelical tone, and they became from this time increasingly a missionary Church. Later, after the Unitarian controversy had considerably weakened their unity, their theology was powerfully restated by Horace Bushnell, whose emphasis upon Christian education foreshadowed many fruitful educational ventures on the part of the denomination. Always concerned with public questions, Congregationalists have been leading advocates of the social gospel movement in recent times; and their stress upon the independence of the local congregation has not prevented their being zealous advocates of church unity. In the Kansas City declarations of 1913, their distinctive polity and their attitude toward church unity are both made clear:

> We believe in the freedom and responsibility of the individual soul, and the right of private judgment. We hold to the autonomy of the local church and its independence of all ecclesiastical control. We cherish the followship of the churches, united in district, state and national bodies, for counsel and co-operation in matters of common concern.
>
> While affirming the liberty of our churches and the validity of our ministry, we hold to the unity and catholicity of the Church of Christ, and will unite with all its branches in hearty co-operation; and will earnestly seek, so far as in us lies, that the prayer of our Lord for his disciples may be answered, that "they all may be one." (Fagley, *op. cit.*)

In 1924, the Evangelical Protestant Church of North America was received into the fellowship of the National Council of Congregational Churches. In 1931, the National Council merged with the General Convention of the Christian Church to form the General Council of the Congregational Christian Churches. The new tradition which thus came in to supplement the Pilgrim and Puritan traditions was itself a merger of three separate movements: that led by James O'Kelley, a "Republican Methodist" of North Carolina (1793), that led by Abner Jones, a Vermont Baptist (1801), and that led by Barton W. Stone and other independent Presbyterians in Kentucky (1804). All three movements, becoming aware that they stood upon a common platform, "the right of every individual before and with God," began in 1817 to hold general conventions. While no formal creed has ever been adopted, and the organization is deliberately left rather loose, six main "Principles" are acknowledged by the Christians: "(1) Christ the only Head of the Church, (2) the Bible alone a sufficient rule of faith and practice, (3) Christian character the only basis of membership, (4) the right of every member to the interpretation of scripture for his own life, (5) 'Christian' a sufficient name for the followers of Christ, (6) the union of all followers of Christ." (Coffin, "A Brief Outline History of the Christian Church," quoted in Fagley, *op. cit.*, pp. 119–136.) These princi-

ples were found to be so harmonious with Congregational principles and practice — the "covenant" basis, the stress upon individual conscience, and the love of Christian unity — that the union of the two denominations presented no great difficulties. If the pending union with the Evangelical and Reformed Church in the U.S.A. is consummated, an even richer variety of traditions will be bound together in one communion.

The following answers to the Questionnaire represent a digest of three sets of answers prepared respectively by the Rev. Douglas Horton, by Prof. Matthew Spinka, and by the author of this statement.

Digest of Answers to the Questionnaire on "The Church"

1. Christ was the mediator through whom God established his Church in history. First choosing the Twelve to be the nucleus of a new Israel, he afterward guided the growth of this nucleus into the Church Universal, by his living Spirit. Both in the society of the first disciples and in the subsequent development of the Church, the common bond has been loyalty and obedience to the Founder, and communion with God through him.

2. We find the Congregational polity taught and practiced in the New Testament churches, although not exclusively. Other denominations are similarly related to other elements in New Testament doctrine and practice. We do not consider it essential to *copy* the New Testament churches, but rather to face our modern problems of church polity under the guidance of the same divine Spirit that led the Early Church.

3. The Church is a fellowship of those who love God as he reveals himself in Jesus Christ. Since God in Christ invites repentant sinners to come unto him, holiness is not a precondition of membership. Ideally, God alone admits to or excludes from membership. It is our practice to admit or exclude by democratic procedures, instituted by the local church, asking only whether the person under consideration shows that he loves God, self-revealed in Christ, and is ready to keep his pledge of "devotion to God and . . . brotherly fellowship toward all other members of the church." Although it is the local church which exercises (under God) these powers of admission or exclusion, the fellowship to which Christians are admitted is more than local or temporal. It has its members in all ages and all lands, on earth and in heaven. Our Church affirms a "continuity of the present-day church with Christians in ages past, and a feeling of kinship with all the great souls . . . whose life manifested the workings of the same divine Spirit which sustains us."

4. The Church is the continuation of the Incarnation, and a fellowship of those who are ruled by the Spirit of Christ, but it is also a voluntary society, since in it the will of God and that of man are in co-operation. Thus the "compact" or "covenant" on which historic Congregationalism has

laid so much stress is at once a "social contract" between the covenanting members and an acknowledgment of a common allegiance to Christ which gives this social bond a specifically Christian meaning. As members of a congregation we choose to be loyal to one another because we simultaneously choose to be loyal to God and his Christ; but we recognize that before we chose him, he chose us, and commissioned us to continue his work in the world — contingent upon our voluntary acceptance of the commission.

5. The essential points in the message of the Church are: proclamation of the character of God, whose reconciling love for sinners was revealed in Jesus Christ; expression of our answering love for him in worship and in work; faith, freedom, and fellowship in the service of his loving and holy will. (See the Congregational Christian pamphlet on "The Nature and Function of the Church.")

6. The Church is in the world (not wholly *of* it) as the vehicle of God's redemption of the world. She must not love worldly things, but must love the world as God loves it, giving her sons for its redemption as he gave his. The Church is independent of the state but concerned that the state should be Christian (that is, give its citizens opportunity to lead the good life) and she is bound to express this concern through appropriate blame or praise, while at the same time she goes far beyond the state in her endeavor to redress inequities, reclaim wrongdoers, and serve the deep, unacknowledged needs of the people. The Kingdom of God — the world as it would be if it were committed to the love of God — already exists in the hearts of true Christians, and the Church is devoted to its extension. The Church is therefore not only "an end in itself, but also the school of preparation for the Kingdom, charged with the spiritual and moral development of men and nations, and the inspiration of faith, prayer and hope in and for God's full and final realization of the Kingdom here on earth and in the eternal world."

7. The continuity of the true Church of Christ is maintained in innumerable ways, all of them expressions of the continuation of the Incarnation; that is, expressions of God's unflagging love for men and presence among them. Especially, in proclaiming the Word of God as revealed through Jesus Christ, in administering the sacraments ordained by him, and in faithfully adhering to "the succession of apostolic faith and life in the cause of Christ, as passed from one generation of Christians to another." Less concerned than some denominations with the maintaining of unbroken, institutional continuity, we are greatly concerned to preserve our continuity with those prophetic moments in the history of the Church when she has cast off corruption and renewed her strength in the Spirit of Christ.

8. Having begun as Calvinist, we have gradually, within the past century, developed into a theologically liberal communion; and having begun

with an emphasis upon the independence of the local church, have come to place greater stress upon the other cardinal principle of early Congregationalism, namely, the fellowship of the churches, as seen in the organization of the National Council in 1871. In the field of worship, practice has tended to move in the "Catholic (liturgical)" direction. We have recently been through a period of great indefiniteness, both in thought and in practice, leaving the laity without clear guidance. But there has been a stirring of new life and a recovery of perspective in the last decade, which brings us today much closer to our brethren of a century ago than to our own pre-War selves.

9. The Congregational Christian churches find their distinction in not being distinctive. They stress their continuity with the other denominations rather than their differences. They like to be thought of as a kind of inter-denominational denomination. Through the generations they have worked out a system in which freedom and fellowship are both conserved. They stress the spiritual freedom of each believer in formulating and expressing his faith, though holding in all essentials to the faith of the Church as expressed in the New Testament; and equally, they stress the spiritual competence of the individual congregation of believers, although they "gladly accord others the liberty we claim for ourselves." In a word, the Congregational Christian churches have a passion for *unity without uniformity* which gives them special significance for the ecumenical movement. None is more convinced of the possibility and need of Christian unity, none more skeptical of the desirability of uniformity. Perhaps they need especially to learn to appreciate the value of regular ways of doing things, clear-cut traditional ways of phrasing their convictions — provided only that such regulations and traditions do not become sacrosanct, or ends in themselves. Let that happen, and they will flame again into revolt, in the name of the free Spirit that giveth life.

THE CONCEPTION OF THE CHURCH AS HELD BY THE PRESBYTERIAN AND UNITED CHURCHES OF CANADA

By RICHARD DAVIDSON, WILLIAM BARCLAY *concurring*

I. History of the Church

A HUNDRED years ago there were many Presbyterian bodies in the British Dominions lying to the north of the United States. But a desire for

union had already reduced the number (from 1817 on), and continued to reduce it so that in 1867 there were just four. Similarly the Methodist bodies drew together and for some time before 1884 there were just four.

The Dominion of Canada was formed in 1867 by the unification of the British Dominions (except Newfoundland). The unification of the Churches followed. By 1875 the Presbyterians in Canada were one body; by 1884 the Methodists were one.

The Congregational Union of Canada was formed in 1906. The Congregationalists of Canada were a small group; Presbyterians and Methodists together outnumbered them by twenty-five to one. On the other hand Presbyterians and Methodists were of almost equal strength.

The movement (beginning in 1902) to unite these three bodies into one was approved by many Presbyterians. The result was, however, that when union did take place in 1925 fully a third of the Presbyterians declined to enter the United Church. There are, therefore, two churches today. This statement might have been prepared by either body for itself; actually it has been prepared in collaboration.

II. Introduction to the Statement of Doctrine

The following paragraphs (in Section III) are not so much a transcript of official doctrine as an attempt to make intelligible to Christian people of other communions how Canadian Presbyterians and United Churchmen actually think about the Church. The statement is made within the Reformed tradition, but it strives to be ecumenical in outlook.

We recognize that other churches, not of the Reformed and Presbyterian tradition, are true churches of God, and we believe that our attitude toward other communions is not an unimportant part of our doctrine of the church.

We recognize that while some of the sentences in Section III are held *de fide*, others may be little more than descriptions of one form of healthy church life. They have not been, and are not today, held with equal vigor and determination. This also is part of our doctrine of the church.

We recognize that in practice a good deal of inadequate teaching — possibly even erroneous teaching — in regard to church, ministry, and sacraments is tolerated, in the sense that a minister whose teaching is defective is not brought to trial in an ecclesiastical court.

We are aware that negative inferences may be drawn from some of the sentences in the statement of Doctrine (Section III) which we should repudiate. But the statement had to be short. We have therefore made affirmations that look to the centre of the circle where Christ is, full of grace and truth. The Church is the Society of Jesus. We believe that the primary, and most useful, affirmations are made in relation to the centre, not in re-

lation to the circumference. Qualifying statements relating to the circumference (e.g., who is in and who is out) must be subordinate.

III. Statement of the Doctrine

(Numerals refer to the Questionnaire on "The Church.")

1. The Church is the whole company of the redeemed of all ages and all peoples.

2. The Church exists in the world as a visible society of men.

3. The Church is founded in the redemptive purpose of God. He prepared for the appearance of the Church in time by his gracious dealings with Israel, so that the Church is the new Israel. The new Israel is continuous with the old Israel.

4. The Church was brought into existence through Jesus Christ who willed a new Israel. The work of Jesus Christ made so great a difference that God's dealings with the old Israel soon fell under the general category of *praeparatio evangelia* (1, 3).

5. When Christ calls men into fellowship with himself he calls them by the same act into fellowship with one another in him. The Church is not just a society of like-minded men associating themselves together.

6. The Church is the Body of Christ, and lives by his Spirit dwelling in her members (2, 4, 7).

7. As the Body of Christ the Church is the organ in the world of Christ's mind and redemptive will. She is called to the worship of God, to the proclamation of the everlasting Gospel, to the loving service of mankind, and to the care and nurture of her members (3, 4, 5, 6).

8. It is in the fellowship of the Church, the household and family of God, that the Christian man is nurtured, protected, and disciplined, so that he may come to the full stature of manhood in Christ (2, 3, 4, 5).

9. The Church is one, holy, catholic, apostolic: *one*, in that all are members of the one Body of which Christ is the Head; *holy*, in that she is indwelt and controlled by the Holy Spirit, and all her members are called to a life of holiness; *catholic*, in that she is called to proclaim the whole gospel to mankind, and that in the admission to her fellowship there is no distinction of race, class, or sex; and *apostolic*, in that her life in every age is continuous with that of the first Apostolic company, and that she finds there the abiding norm and inspiration of her faith and life (3, 5, 7).

10. The particular church is the local representative of the Church Catholic, and, through participation in the redemption of Christ, mystically comprehends the whole, of which it is the local manifestation and expression (4).

11. The historic groups known as "Churches" are called to share in the life of the whole Church, of all ages and all lands, entering freely into the

full heritage of thought, worship, and discipline, and living together in mutual confidence (2, 3, 7).

12. The Reformers defined the marks of a true church (local or regional) as: (1) the pure preaching of the Word of God; (2) the administration of the Sacraments according to Christ's ordinance; and (3) discipline so administered that the evil surviving in believers is purged out and the good in them fostered and strengthened (2, 5, 7).

13. That the Church may fulfil her calling in the world, God has given her the Ministry, the Scriptures, and the Sacraments. They are of divine appointment, and are essential to her life. They are the chief organs of the church's unity, holiness, catholicity, and apostolicity (2, 4, 7).

14. God has appointed a Ministry in his Church for the preaching of the Word, the administration of the Sacraments, and the pastoral care of the people. The Church has authority, under Christ the Head, to ordain to the Ministry by prayer and the laying on of hands, those whom she finds, after due trial, to be called of God thereto. The New Testament witnesses to a manifold ministry; the Canadian Churches observe the parity of ministers, but would not necessarily deny that a threefold ministry may be of the *bene esse* of the Church. The New Testament knows no such clear differentiation among ministers as would suggest that only where there are three orders is there a true ministry of Christ (3, 4, 7).

15. For the ordering of her life as a society in the world God has appointed a government in his Church, to be exercised, under Christ the Head, by ministers and representatives of the people (3, 4).

16. The word of God contained in the Scriptures was given to the Church as the rule of her faith and life. And the Church is called (1) to teach her people what the Scriptures mean, setting it forth, in due proportion, in statements and definitions, (2) to adjudicate in controversies, and (3) to affirm the truth and denounce error.

17. God has appointed the Sacraments as effectual means, through which, by visible signs appointed of God, Christ is exhibited in his saving love to those who receive them in faith. The Sacraments of the New Testament are Baptism and the Lord's Supper. Baptism is the Sacrament of initiation into the Christian Society; at the Lord's Table Christians are continually nourished, strengthened, and renewed (3, 4, 7).

18. While the Church is invested with divine authority, yet it is recognized that the civil authority is of divine appointment also, and that obedience to rulers and governors is an elementary Christian duty. But if the civil power is exercised in a way that is contrary to the clear command of God and thus denies its origin and true end, then it becomes a Christian duty to challenge and resist the usurpation; for God is to be obeyed above and before all else (6).

THE CONCEPTION OF THE CHURCH AS HELD BY DISCIPLES OF CHRIST

By WINFRED E. GARRISON

DISCIPLES of Christ have no official theology and therefore no formulated doctrine of the Church which can be regarded as a standard of orthodoxy. Some of the terms used in the Questionnaire are foreign to their usual vocabulary. The best that can be done in answering the questions is to indicate what the writer believes, on the basis of a study of their literature and a lifelong acquaintance with their work and participation in it, to be their attitudes in regard to the issues here presented.

1. Disciples generally hold that the Church came into existence on the day of Pentecost. This is not to deny that there was a "people of God" under the earlier dispensation, or that the coming of Christ was the realization of a Messianic expectation, or that the Law and Prophets constituted a significant preparation. All these things are parts of the total history of God's dealings with men, the redemptive process and the Kingdom of God; but they are not parts of the history of the Christian Church, which is specifically based upon the life, teaching, death, and resurrection of Jesus Christ. Since these facts about Jesus Christ, including his death, are essential parts of the content of Christian faith, which in turn is essential to the existence of a Christian Church, it would be more accurate to say that Disciples consider Christ the foundation rather than the founder of the Church. ("Other foundation can no man lay. . . ." I Corinthians 3:11; "a chief cornerstone," I Peter 2:6.)

Nevertheless, most Disciples would answer Yes to the question, Did Christ found the Church? It was his expectation and intention that there should be a Church. Presumably he gave his Apostles some instructions as to its nature and perhaps its structure. It has generally been held that the teachings and actions of the Apostles, as related to the formation of the Church, so evidently represent the mind of Christ that they are to be received as normative.

2. It has been the historic claim of Disciples of Christ (as of many other bodies) that their polity and practice are essentially a "restoration of primitive Christianity" as recorded in the New Testament. While the Roman Catholic Church claims to perpetuate primitive Christianity uncorrupted (though with its germinal truths and cultus properly developed), and practically every reformer has sought to restore what seemed to him the essential features of a lost primitive purity, Disciples of Christ have so generally made "restoration" their slogan that many of them do not know that anybody else ever thought of it before Barton W. Stone and Alexander Campbell. The extent to which there was an exact pattern to be restored has been the

occasion of no little internal controversy among them and of one major division.

Some have held, and an increasing number now hold, that the New Testament does not reflect a uniform type of church organization. But generally they have regarded congregational independency as supported by Apostolic teaching and precedent, and quite unanimously they have denied any such authority for either a presbyterial or an episcopal form of government. The unity of the Church, which they have always sought to stress and if possible to restore, has always been conceived as a unity of spirit and purpose, of devotion to a common Master, of voluntary co-operation in carrying on his work, and of free fellowship among all his disciples; never as an organizational unity held together by submission to the authority of any body of general officials or higher clergy, or even of any democratically based general organization exercising control over the constituent congregations.

3. Even the most rigid and conservative Disciples of Christ have never thought of the Church as limited to their own communion, but have considered it as including all who, throughout the ages, have sought to follow Christ and have allied themselves with any group that claimed to be Christian. Their constant plea for the union of all Christians has carried the implication that the members of the divided Church were Christians and that the separated communions were genuine, though erring and fragmented, parts of the one Church. This implication has been recognized and, with negligible exceptions, universally accepted. It has been a familiar and standard statement that "Disciples of Christ are neither *the* Church nor *a* Church, but are a movement within the Church." The phrase, "Our movement," is their own most common designation for the whole group; "our church" is never used in that sense by those even moderately well informed.

As a movement within the Church, the purpose has been to promote the reunion of the divided Church by restoring and practicing what are believed to be the original and simple conditions of admission to Christian fellowship — i.e., faith in Jesus Christ as Son of God and Saviour, repentance of past sins, and the baptism (immersion) of the penitent believer. There has been no disposition to "damn the unimmersed," even though they have not generally (not at all until recently) been admitted to membership. They have, if otherwise qualified, been regarded as Christians and brothers in Christ, even if not admissible as members of a movement to unite the Church on the basis indicated.

In recent years there have come to be many Disciples — a growing and influential minority — who think that baptism should be regarded as in the category of "opinion," since competent and devout scholars with equal access to the same historical data actually do have different opinions as to

the mind of Christ on this subject, and who would therefore leave baptism to the option of the individual. Others, who would not do this, are fully persuaded that it should be left to the individual congregation without prejudice to the unity of the fellowship.

4. The Church is held to be a voluntary society in the sense that it should include in its membership only those who voluntarily join it. This does not mean that the Church was brought into existence by the will of man. Disciples are averse to any conception or practice which would make the Church an institution in which membership is gained by the accident of birth or by any process (such as the baptism of infants) in which the person concerned is not a participant by his own conscious choice, or a society — whether or not state-sponsored — which is presumed to be coextensive with the total community. Though opposed to sectarianism and ardent for unity, their view of the Church is distinctly in accordance with Troeltsch's "sect-type church," composed of those who have made a personal commitment to Christ and his cause, in contrast with the more inclusive "church-type church." The Christian nurture which it is the duty of parents and of the Church to give to the young is viewed as preparing the young to make their own personal commitment to Christ and thus become members of the Church rather than as implying their prior membership.

If the definition of the Church as "a continuation of the incarnation" were used at all — as it is not, though I think there would be no objection to it unless perhaps on the ground that it sounds like a fourth-century (or later) rather than a first-century definition — it would be understood as a figure of speech. Like such phrases as "the body of Christ," "members of his body," and "the head of the body, the Church" (I Corinthians 12:27; Ephesians 4:12; 5:30; Colossians 1:18), it would be regarded as a vivid, but figurative, expression of the intimate spiritual relation between the living Christ and his disciples in and through the Church.

5. The message and mission of the Church are a projection of the message and mission of Christ. The function of the Church is to strengthen Christians in faith and character, to go into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature, and to promote the realization of the Kingdom of God by all means within its power. In this area, the ideas and attitudes of Disciples of Christ do not differ in principle from those of other Christian bodies.

6. Disciples do not, in general, take a pessimistic view of the world. The Church is an institution ordained by God to minister his grace to men. Since "God so loved the world," it seems not too much to hope that eventually the world's evil ways may be changed into the ways of Christ. The Church as such has no relation to the state, except that it exists in areas in which states constitute the political organization of society, and the mem-

bers of the Church also owe allegiance to the state. If the Church wishes to own property, to become an employer, or otherwise to function as a secular corporation, it must do these things under the laws of the civil government. Neither its divine origin nor its sacred function can give to its human officers and agents any claim to a right to carry on secular operations independently of the state — even under the plea that these operations are essential to the discharge of its spiritual ministry. But the message of the Church includes a message of human freedom from every form of tyranny which infringes the rights and violates the dignity of man; and where such human freedom exists, the Church also will be free.

The Church is an agency for the promotion of the Kingdom of God.

7. The concept of historical continuity is not deemed important. Any group of followers of Christ may constitute a congregation, or local church, which will be an authentic part of the Church. Its claim to be a genuine part of the true Church is not invalidated by any lack of continuous ecclesiastical lineage. The only form of "apostolic succession" that is deemed meaningful is that which is gained by saying essentially what the Apostles said and doing what the Apostles did.

8. The answer to this question is partly implicit in what has been said under 2 and 3. In general, there has been a movement away from the conception of an authoritative pattern in detail for the Church and from an almost exclusive emphasis upon evangelism under the formula of "faith, repentance and baptism," and toward a more fraternal co-operation with those who do not accept this formula in the sense in which Disciples have understood it. The watchword of "restoration" has gained a more spiritual, more ethical, and less rigid meaning in the minds of many.

9. Disciples of Christ have emphasized, with varying success, the possibility of Christian fellowship and church union on a very simple and noncreedal basis of agreement. Their distinction between "faith" and "opinion" (relegating to the latter category most of the dogmas about which theological controversy has raged) has made for unity with liberty for diverse views. They have not been free from the fault of treating some of their own opinions as though they were articles of faith. They have too much ignored the historic Christian heritage from the ages between the first century and the nineteenth. They have been so fiercely democratic and individualistic (or congregational) that they still have much to learn about effective co-operation among themselves and a wider fellowship with the Christian world.

CHRISTENDOM

HARLAN PAUL DOUGLASS, *Editor*

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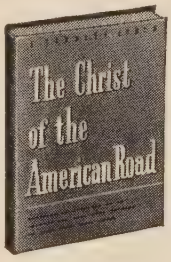

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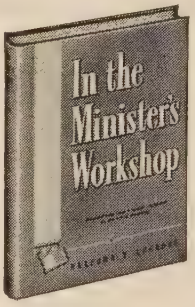

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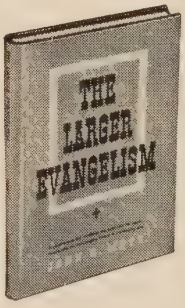

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PERSONALIA

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

William Cecil Northcott, one of the outstanding Free Church ministers of Great Britain, has recently toured the

William Cecil Northcott

United States on the invitation of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, making numerous addresses on the life and work of the British churches. Dr. Northcott is home secretary and literary superintendent of the London Missionary Society. He was educated at Hele's School, Exeter, and Chestnut College, Cambridge. He did social work in the East End of London for three years before serving several Congregational pastorates. He was a member of the Cambridge delegation of the League of Nations and editor of *The Granta*. Dr. Northcott is the author of several books, his latest, *Change Here for Britain;* and has written many newspaper and magazine articles on religious and social problems. He is a f quent contributor to *The Manches Guardian* and is chairman of the Edi burgh House Press. At present he is e gaged on a history of the London Missio ary Society for publication in connectio with the Society's triple jubilee next ye

Theodore Otto Wedel, canon-m sioner of the Protestant Episcopal Was ington Cathedral and director of studi at the College of Preachers, is a gradua of Oberlin College with a Master's degr from Harvard and a Ph.D. from Yale. F twelve years he was professor of bio raphy at Carleton College, Minnesota. 1934 he became secretary for colle

Theodore Otto Wedel

work on the National Council of th Protestant Episcopal Church. Canon Wedel's article in this issue consists, i

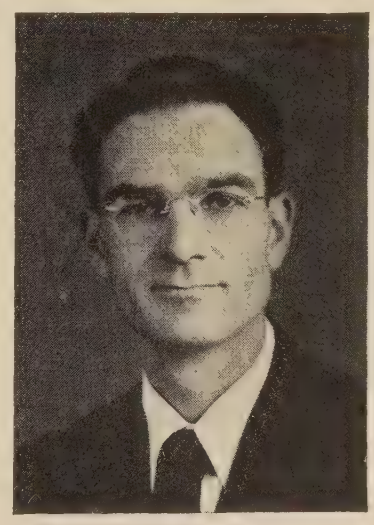
art, of material from the *Bohlen Lectures* which he recently delivered at the piscopal Seminary in Philadelphia, the

GORDON ELLIOTT MICHALSON

blication of which is in early prospect. non Wedel has endeared himself to any ecumenical leaders as the thoughtl and self-effacing active host at a series Washington Cathedral Conferences on ristian Unity.

GORDON ELLIOTT MICHALSON, LT., SNR, was born in Minnesota in 1911, d educated in the University of Minnea (B.A., 1937; M.A., 1938) — both deees in history and philosophy. In 1941, received the B.D. degree from Drew heological Seminary, and had comted residence requirements for the .D. degree before entering the Navy. holds the Wm. H. Pilling Fellowship foreign study in systematic theology m Drew. Prior to his preparation for ministry, Lt. Michalson was engaged six years in commercial flying. He has ved as assistant pastor in the First Church, Summit, N. J., and as pastor of the Grace Church, East Orange. He is now a primary flight instructor in the United States Navy.

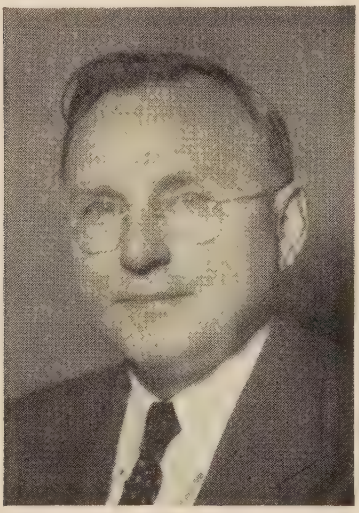
BUELL G. GALLAGHER, professor of Christian ethics in the Pacific School of Religion, Berkeley, California, is a graduate of Carleton College, Minnesota, and of Union Theological Seminary, with a Ph.D. from Columbia University. He also studied at the London School of Economics. He served a term as secretary of the Interseminary Movement and was later a Congregational pastor in New Jersey. For a decade previous to his present appointment, he was president of Talladega College, Alabama, a Class A institution for Negroes and the only Negro college in the deep South on the approved list of the Association of American Universities. He is author of *American Caste and the Negro College,* and one of



BUELL G. GALLAGHER

the founders of the Council for Social Action of the Congregational Christian Churches.

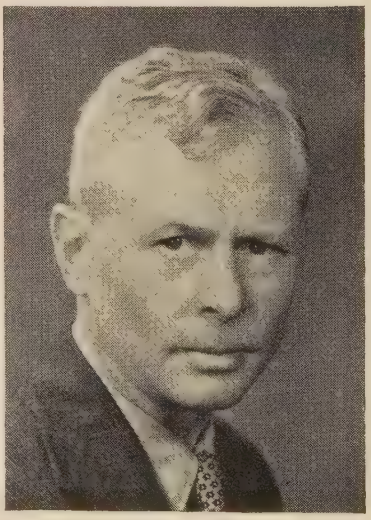
Ross W. Sanderson is a graduate of Oberlin College and Theological Seminary. He held Congregational pastorates



Ross W. Sanderson

in Sandusky, Ohio, and Lawrence, Kansas, and since 1920 has been one of the outstanding leaders of the Councils of Churches movement. He has served as executive secretary of the Wichita, Baltimore and Buffalo Councils, and more recently has been engaged in a study of church council development under the auspices of the Federal Council and Intercouncil Field Department. In 1929–32 Dr. Sanderson was a project director of the Institute of Social and Religious Research and issued an important study, *The Strategy of City Church Planning*. In 1943–44 he was chief of the Church Relations Section of the Public Information Service of the American Red Cross and is currently executive of the interdenominational committee promoting united financial campaigns in the churches. His paper in this issue is the outcome of several years of discussion in the Association of Council (of Churches) Secretaries and of the work of its Speci Committee on Council Philosophy. D Sanderson, as secretary of this Committe has been responsible for drafting and ed ing this statement which is now releas for further study and criticism.

Paul B. Anderson has been in the fo eign service of the YMCA since 1913. H introduction to Russia came in 19 when he served as private secretary to D John R. Mott on the special diploma mission appointed by President Woo row Wilson. Residing in Europe sin 1920, he has been a member of the spo soring committee of the Russian Orth dox Theological Academy in Paris, a personally acquainted with the outstan ing figures in all the Eastern Orthod Churches on the continent. As Direct of the Russian YMCA Press in Par with Nicholas Berdyaev on the editori staff, he has been responsible for the pu



Paul B. Anderson

lication of most of the writings of Orth dox theologians and philosophers duri the inter-war period.

Contributors to the final installment of papers on Conceptions of the Church are: W. O. Carver, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, Ky.; Warren W. Slabaugh, Bethany Biblical Seminary, Chicago; Henry J. Cadbury, Harvard Divinity School; Leicester C. Lewis, Church of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, Philadelphia; and Frederick W. Loetscher, Princeton Theological Seminary.

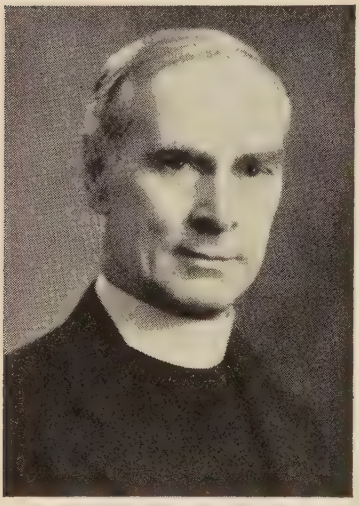
Reviewers of Contemporary Books in this issue are: John C. Bennett, professor of Christian theology and ethics, Union Theological Seminary; Harold Bosley, pastor, Mt. Vernon Methodist Church, Baltimore; Edgar Sheffield Brightman, professor of philosophy, Boston University Graduate School; Mervin G. Deems, professor of church history, Chicago Theological Seminary; Lloyd E. Foster, pastor, First Presbyterian Church, Newark, N. J.; Walter Marshall Horton, professor of theology, Oberlin Graduate School of Theology; F. Ernest Johnson, secretary, department of research and education, Federal Council of Churches; Edgar DeWitt Jones, pastor Central-Woodward Christian Church, Detroit; Henry Smith Leiper, American secretary, provisional committee for the World Council of Churches; Eduard C. Lindeman, professor of social philosophy, New York School of Social Work, Columbia University; O. Frederick Nolde, professor of Christian education, Lutheran Theological Seminary, Philadelphia; Victor Obenhaus, professor of social ethics, Chicago Theological Seminary; David E. Roberts, assistant professor of systematic theology, Union Theological Seminary; John C. Schroeder, professor of homiletics and pastoral theology, Yale Divinity School; Robert E. Speer, secretary emeritus, Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions; Floyd Tomkins, American secretary, Faith and Order Movement; Theodore O. Wedel, canon of the Episcopal Cathedral, Washington, D. C.; Amos N. Wilder, professor of New Testament, Chicago Theological Seminary; Edward K. Ziegler, pastor First Church of the Brethren, York, Pennsylvania, and The Editor.

NOTE AND COMMENT

INTERCOMMUNION AND OPEN COMMUNION

PARALLELING the report of the American Section of the Commission On Intercommunion (see CHRISTENDOM, Vol. VII, Numbers 3 and 4), Dr. Leonard Hodgson, secretary of the Faith and Order Continuation Committee, has issued a pamphlet entitled "Rules and Customs of Churches Concerning Intercommunion and Open Communion" including replies to a questionnaire on these subjects from twenty-four churches, chiefly in the British Empire. These constitute important new data for study; but as Dr. Hodgson's prefatory note suggests, it will be necessary to wait till the end of the war for the Commission to be constituted on a fully ecumenical basis and for reports to be secured from churches of the rest of the world with which communication is now interrupted.

RICHARD DAVIDSON



RICHARD DAVIDSON

The REV. RICHARD DAVIDSON, M.A., Ph.D., D.
late principal of Emmanuel College and president
the Toronto Conference of the United Church
Canada, died very suddenly at his home in Toron
on May 25. It is with both grief and gratitude that o
endeavours to pay tribute to his memory — grief th
he has been taken from us, but gratitude to God f
all that he has given us through his servant's life a
character.

Dr. Davidson was a scholar and a teacher, a theo
gian and an administrator. He was a graduate of t
University of Toronto and of Knox College. He d
post-graduate work in Toronto and Berlin. He taug
in Trinity College, Montreal Presbyterian Colleg
University College, Knox College, and Emmanu
College. From 1932 to 1943 he was principal of E
manuel College. Upon his retirement from the pri
cipalship, the Board of Regents of Victoria University said in a formal resolutio
"With rare skill and judgment he has guided and unified the faculty and inspired su
cessive generations of students with his high ideals of the Christian ministry. In
small measure, the place of distinction which Emmanuel College holds among t
theological institutions of Canada and the United States is due to his efforts." T
Emmanuel College Council in a similar resolution have the following tribute: "A
exact and erudite scholar, by intuition a teacher and by grace a minister of the Wor
Richard Davidson found his parish in his classroom, where he exercised a minist
that was rich and fruitful in an unusual degree. His teaching was distinguished by
clarity, its range, and its spiritual force. Himself a man of inflexible will, ceaseless i
dustry, exacting sense of duty, and complete consecration to his Living Lord, h
wielded an ever-deepening influence by his example as by his teaching; his charact
was a challenge and inspiration to his students."

Dr. Davidson did not confine his interest and activity to his classroom or his colleg
He took his part in the larger life of the Church. In his own Communion, he was
trusted counsellor and guide. In recent years he rendered great service as chairman
a Commission which prepared a *Brief Statement of the Faith* and a *Catechism*. At th
time of his death he was president of the Toronto Conference. Beyond his own Com
munion, he was an active participant in the Pan-Presbyterian Alliance and in the ec
menical movement. He was a member of the World Council of Churches' Canadia
Committee, and was chairman of the North American Committee. His interests we
wide and varied, and to every task which he undertook he gave his best effort. He w
trusted by his brethren in all the Churches.

Through all Richard Davidson's activities shone the character of the man himself. He was a man of deep spirituality, of great learning, of mature wisdom, and withal of humility and simplicity. He had a quiet humour and a large tolerance, yet he could blaze forth against evil and iniquity upon occasion. He was a Christian man; like Barnabas, "a good man and full of the Holy Ghost and of faith." His students and his friends not only respected him and admired him: they loved him. Rev. Canon J. E. Ward, of Toronto, has spoken for many more than himself in these lines written upon Dr. Davidson's death:

Here was a man clean-cut from rock of truth,
Clear featured in his heart and soul and mind,
A man out-chiseled by that Hand whose ruth
Is sure and strong, yet infinitely kind.
Here was a marble warmed by summer sun
And mellowed to express the art of love,
Whose lines of beauty one might read who'd run,
Well rounded, life's integrity to prove.

Yet more than marble, quivering flesh was here,
Enhousing dreams and caught by passion's fire,
With wisdom rare, and courage for the strife,
Quick to create, to redeem, and to inspire —
We may not over-mourn what deathless is,
Nor grudge to him his heritage of bliss.

W. J. GALLAGHER

NOTE AND COMMENT

EASTERN CHURCHES IN CO-OPERATIVE CHRISTIANITY

A Council of Churches has recently been formed in Alexandria, Egypt, at a meeting presided over by the Anglican bishop. A constitution was adopted and his Beatitude, the Patriarch of Alexandria, was elected the first president of the Council.

The Assyrian (Nestorian) Church has recently become a member of the World Council.

PROGRESS OF THE CANADIAN COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

THE tentative scheme for the organization of the Canadian Council of Churches has been before the co-operating churches of Canada for some time and has received such endorsement that the Council is now about to become a reality. Its inaugural meeting will be held in Toronto, September 26–28, 1944.

NOTE AND COMMENT

REORGANIZATION OF THE JOINT EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

THE Joint Executive Committee of the American Sections of the Life and Work and the Faith and Order Movements has been reorganized by action taken at its April and June meetings, as the result of recommendations by a special committee under the chairmanship of Bishop Ivan Lee Holt.

It will be recalled that following the Oxford and Edinburgh Conferences, the Life and Work and the Faith and Order Movements both set up American sections. In view of the plan for the merger of the two movements in the World Council of Churches, these sections in 1937 set up a joint committee as an interim agency. It was then supposed that the completion of the World Council organization would take place at a fairly early date. As this has been delayed by reason of the World War, the joint committee has been continued by the annual action of the two bodies.

The situation is now changed by the fact that most of the important American churches have voted to join the World Council of Churches and are acting under its provisional organization. Consequently, it seems appropriate that the American agency of the World Council should be composed of representatives directly appointed by these churches.

The core of the reorganization plan is that the Committee, in the future, will consist of representatives directly appointed by churches of the United States which have voted to join the World Council. Representation will be proportionate to the size of the respective bodies. The representative character of the reorganization is closely guarded. Additional collaborators may be chosen but they will be consultants rather than members and will not have the right to vote.

This reorganization will cover the administrative work of the Life and Work and the Faith and Order Movements in the United States, but will not affect their other activities. All matters of world-wide administration remain in the hands of the Provisional Committee and Committee of Fourteen.

Dr. Douglas Horton, general minister of the Congregational Christian Churches, was elected chairman of the reorganized agency in succession to the late Dr. William Adams Brown.

The technical name of the agency which will now continue to function provisionally as the American Section of the World Council was "The Committee in the United States of America for the World Council of Churches." Immediately upon its adoption, discussion proved that this was unacceptable to a majority of the Committee, so that its first act after reorganization

was to change the name to "The American Committee for the World Council of Churches" – the form originally proposed by the reorganization committee. If this name is confirmed at the next meeting of the Committee, it will be the future name of the reconstructed body.

OTHER IMPORTANT ACTIONS OF THE JOINT EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

BUDGETARY provision for 1945 was made for a significant expansion of the youth department and the employment of a full time secretary who is to be named in the Fall. Equally significant was the approval of a plan, to be jointly carried out with the Federal Council and the National Council of Church Women, for the employment of a secretary for ecumenical education with specific reference to women's groups. A joint committee of the three agencies was authorized to secure the secretary.

ECUMENICAL LIBRARY FOR UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

WITH the important collection of books, documents and correspondence of the late William Adams Brown as its nucleus, Union Theological Seminary in New York has set up a special ecumenical library which will prove from the beginning a most important source for scholarship in the United States. The Seminary is furnishing room and personnel, and expects rapidly to develop the collection. The ecumenical library will be separate from but physically adjacent and closely related to the Missionary Research Library which already contains a vast amount of pertinent material related especially to co-operation and union movements on the foreign mission field.

GENEVA GATHERING OF ECUMENICAL LEADERS

AN informal meeting held in Geneva in the early Spring brought together a notable group of members, secretaries and collaborators of the World Council Provisional Committee, who represented in their own persons Dutch, Scandinavian, German, French, Swiss, British and American Churches. Confidential reports were exchanged as to the state of the church in these several nations and in several other belligerent European countries. The Council officers summarized their activities in the stated work of the Council. The discussions were not made public but largely followed the growing concerns of the Council as set forth in the general secretary's stated reports, with special stress upon problems of post-war reconstruction.

CHRISTENDOM

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memory of the late Rev. Charles Force Deems, D.D., an early advocate of Christian unity

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